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Researches into the
ecclesiastical and

RESEARCHES
INTO THE
ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL STATE
OF
ANCIENT BRITAIN
UNDER THE
ROMAN EMPERORS.

WITH OBSERVATIONS UPON THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS AND CHARACTERS
CONNECTED WITH THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION DURING THE
FIRST FIVE CENTURIES.

BY THE LATE
REV. FRANCIS THACKERAY, A.M.
FORMERLY OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE object of the lamented Author, in the following work, as stated by himself in the Preface and opening Chapter, and the expression of his desire, during his last illness, that it should be published, are the best guarantees, to all who knew him, of the care and fidelity with which it was written. It is due to his memory, however, to draw attention to the fact, that he was not spared to superintend its publication, and that the sudden termination of his illness rendered a personal revision impracticable. The verification of References, and other details incident to preparation for the Press, have therefore devolved upon the friend to whom he entrusted the Manuscript.

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PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH many volumes relative to the Early History of Britain have been published, it certainly cannot be said that the subject is exhausted, or that an attempt to throw additional light upon it must be considered as a work of supererogation. Some of the authors of the works to which I allude have composed their accounts of Britain under partial and prejudiced views; others have collected, arranged, and amplified the tales and traditions which were in circulation, with scarcely any regard to truth and probability: some have written, principally, to expose and refute the errors of previous Annalists; whilst others have certainly evinced profound learning, argument, and ingenuity, in their dissertations. Under such circumstances, it may not be impertinent, before I state the plan and object of the following work, to mention the most distinguished of my countrymen who have treated of British affairs anterior to the Saxon Invasion.

And here, GILDAS claims our first attention : but, as I have given a biographical account of this writer in the work itself,¹ I can afford but a few words respecting him in this place. Gildas appears to have been a man of an exceedingly sour and querulous disposition, scarcely giving his countrymen credit for the possession of a single good quality ; but, if his works be genuine, his position, as the earliest British Historian, imparts a high value to them, and especially to his account of the transactions of the fifth and sixth centuries, however warped it may be by prejudice and disappointment. It has been my endeavour, by a careful attention to the circumstances which he records, and by a comparison of them with the statements of other early writers, to arrive as nearly as possible at the truth.

The work which comes next to that of Gildas, in point of antiquity, is the "*Historia Britonum*," assigned to NENNIUS. It is extremely difficult to form any thing like a correct opinion with regard to this fragment. My belief, however, is, that the person mentioned in the spurious *Prologues* or *Prefaces*, as Nennius, the Scholar of Elbodius, was

(¹) Chapter XI.

not the original author. The information contained in the work is of varied character ; some statements being authentic and extremely valuable, embodying the ancient traditions of the Britons ; while others were added long afterwards, of the most preposterous description, and utterly at variance with probability. The earliest parts of this work were, I think, written towards the latter end of the sixth ; and the latest parts, in the ninth century. Under such circumstances, it is clear that the greatest caution is necessary in receiving the statements of such a heterogeneous composition.

We next come to BEDE. The character of this writer is too well known to render many words necessary respecting him. He was not, indeed, exempt from credulity, but his candour is very remarkable. His notices of early British events are principally derived from Gildas ; but his account of the establishment of a Christian Church among the Anglo-Saxons, together with other details regarding the sixth and seventh centuries, are as interesting as they are accurate, and must be the basis of every subsequent work relative to the same period.

The "*Saxon Chronicle*" has furnished me with

many facts stated in my Tenth Chapter and elsewhere. I have also derived much incidental information, as to the manners of the Britons, as well as of the Saxons, from ALDHELM, ALCUIN, EDDIUS or HEDDIUS, ASSER, and a host of other monkish writers, anterior to the Norman Conquest, whom it would be impossible to particularize here.

To form any thing like a correct opinion of the Ancient Britons, the Literature of Wales must be attended to. The Laws of HOWEL DHA, although that sovereign lived not until the tenth century, bear numerous marks of much higher antiquity.

The Triads, Tales, and Poems of the Welch, together with the lives of their principal Saints—fantastic, superstitious, and fabulous as a great portion of them are—exhibit many a strong feature of national character, and throw much light upon the history of our Early Church.

The “*Liber Landavensis*,” or “Book of Llandaff,” was compiled early in the twelfth century, by GALFRIDUS or GEOFFREY of Llandaff, brother to Urban bishop of that See, who died in the year 1133. Many very curious and interesting particulars regarding the primitive Church in Wales are here exclusively

to be met with. Undoubtedly, some legends of a ridiculous and fabulous character, together with some forgeries, have found their way into this collection ; but there seems no reason to doubt that it was compiled by Galfridus, principally from documents which existed in the very early ages to which they relate. I have, accordingly, made great use of it, in the Eleventh Chapter of my work.

During the reign of our First Henry, FLORENTIUS BRAVONIUS, a monk of Worcester, wrote a History commencing from the Creation of the World, and ending at the Year 1118. This work has often been quoted. It derives its principal value from the Annals of the ancient Anglo-Saxons which are inserted in it.

But the best writer of the twelfth century, beyond all comparison, was WILLIAM OF MALMSBURY. Sir H. Savile says of him, although perhaps with exaggerated praise : “ William of Malmsbury was exquisitely learned for the age in which he lived. He hath compiled the history of about 700 years with so much industry and fidelity, that he seems to be the only one of all our writers who has performed the part of a good historian.” Malmsbury wrote during the reign of Stephen. His History contains

the actions of the Kings of England from A.D. 449 to A.D. 1143.

It was about this time that ORDERICUS VITALIS, a native of Shropshire, wrote Thirteen Books, to which he gave the name of an Ecclesiastical History; but of which the First Part only, comprised in the first two Books, can properly be described as a History of the Church.

HENRY archdeacon of HUNTINGDON wrote his "*History of England*" also during the troublous times of King Stephen. Although without much original matter, most of Nennius's fables being here repeated, the work of the Archdeacon throws some light upon early English story, and must be considered as a valuable specimen of authorship during the first part of the twelfth century.

The long reign and literary character of Henry the Second were well calculated to promote the learned labours of his subjects. Accordingly, a great many works relative to Ecclesiastical as well as Civil occurrences were then written. Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Newburgh, Giraldus Cambrensis, Roger de Hoveden, and others, flourished during this period. In compliance with custom, I

have ranked GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH among our Historians; notwithstanding that, from his known propensity to exaggerate and invent, he has little more right to be so classed than the authors of the “Arabian Nights’ Entertainments.” GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, although the value of his works is diminished by a mixture of much that is fabulous, is a writer of far greater sense and judgment. ROGER DE HOVEDEN, who has transcribed much of what SIMEON DUNHELMENSIS had before related, took up his *General History* at the period at which Bede closes his *Ecclesiastical* one.

In the beginning of King John’s reign, RADULPHUS DE DICETO, Dean of St. Paul’s, produced an Abbreviation of former Chronicles, commencing with the year 589, and closing at the year 1147. At this last period, another of his works, called “*Images of History*,” begins, which he continued to the year 1199.

From this short sketch it will be seen, that, notwithstanding the great superiority of some authors to others, the five centuries which succeeded the death of Bede must, in a literary point of view, be considered as the age of fable. The monkish writers considered themselves at liberty, not only to adopt all the traditions relative to our early Saints

and Heroes, but to add to them a hundred-fold. The marvels which Bede had advanced with some degree of hesitation were now put forth with the most unblushing effrontery. In short, what was called History in those days may be compared to some fraudulent Banking Establishment in our own times, where, for a single piece of sterling gold, many worthless Paper Notes have been imposed upon the public.

The fourteenth century produced some works more worthy of the name of Histories. MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER, upon the whole a faithful, although somewhat superstitious writer, then published his *Chronicle*, entitled "*Flores Historiarum, præcipuè de Rebus Britannicis ab Exordio Mundi usque ad Ann. 1307.*" HIGDEN wrote his "*Polychronicon*" in the reign of Edward the Third. During the same eventful period, the Geography of Ancient Britain received a very valuable acquisition by the work of RICHARD, a native of CIRENCESTER, but a monk of Westminster. It appears, by his own statement, that the ancient MS. of a Roman General had come into the hands of this ecclesiastic, who framed from it the 18 *Itinera* of his work. RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER was also the author of a History of England, entitled "*Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ:*" but

here the writer has failed altogether; and while he retains most of the errors of Henry of Huntingdon and of Geoffrey of Monmouth, has added scarcely any thing original or valuable. We have thus internal evidence that Richard could never have written the *Commentary* and *Itinerary* which he published, but must have derived his materials from very ancient sources.

It was about the same time that JOHANNES DE BROMPTON composed his *Chronicle*; a work comprising the principal events which had taken place in Britain from the arrival of Augustin, in 596, to the beginning of John's reign, in 1199.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the great military events which had occurred in France and Spain produced an annalist who had but to record what he had witnessed, or knew to be true, to interest his readers. I allude to FROISSART: and I think it probable that his *Chronicles* contributed, for a time, to check that taste for the marvellous, both in Civil and Ecclesiastical History, which had previously existed.

The sword was the weapon most in use in England during a great part of the fifteenth

century. HARDING, nevertheless, wrote his *Rhyming Chronicle* during the reign of Henry the Fifth. WALSINGHAM, JOHN OF WHEATHAMSTEAD, and others, added also to our stock of History ; but their works relate chiefly to events subsequent to the period of which I propose to treat.

The art of Printing, which was introduced about the middle of this century, tended materially to spread among the laity that knowledge which before was almost exclusively confined to the cloister. The monks were now no longer our sole historians.

The sixteenth century abounded with writers who devoted themselves to the consideration of our Civil and Ecclesiastical Records. Among these, LELAND, who lived during the reign of our Eighth Henry, holds a distinguished place. He was not one of those who merely repeat, in different words, the statements of former authors, but one who thought for himself, and examined facts on the spot where they are said to have happened. To me it seems probable, that his "*Collectanea*" and "*Itinera*" suggested to CAMDEN the idea of his "*Britannia*," a work which has thrown others of a similar character so much into the shade.

In the year 1557, JOHN BALE, who had been educated in the Carmelite Monastery at Norwich, but who subsequently embraced the Reformed Religion, produced a work entitled "*Scriptorum Illustrum Majoris Britanniae Catalogus*." Bale has evinced much ingenuity in these biographical notices; but it is matter of regret that we cannot often depend upon the soundness of his reasoning, or the truth of his statements. The remark applies to the similar work of JOHN PITTS, or PITSEUS, which appeared about forty years afterwards.

Fertile as was the age of Elizabeth in warriors and statesmen, it was even more so in authors. HOLINGSHED, STOWE, and SPEED, then composed their well-known Histories. It is remarkable that the two last writers I have named should have been brought up to the same humble occupation, both having been originally tailors. SPEED's "*Theatre of Great Britain*" is a very elaborate performance; and cost the author fourteen years of study, several of which were spent in searching into our public Charters and Records.

But by far the most important production of this period, relative to the antiquities of our country, is CAMDEN's "*Britannia*." Although two centuries and

a half have passed away since the first publication of this work, it maintains its pre-eminence; and all who would form a correct idea of the ancient state of our United Kingdom, however they may have profited by subsequent information, must refer to Camden as a text-book.

The matchless work of HOOKER, which was at this time published, scarcely comes within the compass of my notices.

Early in the seventeenth century, Bishop GODWIN published his work, entitled "*De Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius.*" Godwin was an elegant and forcible writer, from whose stores many subsequent authors have derived their information. He was not, however, exempt from credulity; and seems to have thought it wrong to doubt the existence of many very questionable Saints, Martyrs, and Bishops.

Contemporary with, although younger than Godwin, was USHER, the illustrious Archbishop of Armagh. He was a man of prodigious learning, who, in investigating a subject, never shrunk from labour and trouble, but made himself master of every thing that had been said respecting it. Had he possessed discrimination in any respect equal to

his knowledge, his "*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*" would have rendered unnecessary a great part of the volumes which have been written upon our early Ecclesiastical History. Unfortunately, however, the fact was otherwise. He seems to have wanted judgment, to select from the vast mass of materials which he had collected; and he has placed many a spurious tale and legend upon the same level with accounts which are undoubtedly authentic. The work in question is, however, so valuable, from the research which it evinces, and the very curious notices which it contains, that the difficulty of procuring a copy of it is a serious evil to the antiquary, and a reproach to the literature of our own times.

The works of Sir HENRY SPELMAN are well worthy of attention. His "*Concilia*," in particular, must be consulted by every one desirous of becoming acquainted with the regulations of our Early Church.

One of the ablest writers of the seventeenth century was Bishop STILLINGFLEET. His genius was great; and, aided by judgment, learning, and application, he was enabled to produce works which the Christian Reader must ever value. He has justly

been called the Bellarmin of the English Church. His "*Origines Sacræ*" is a storehouse of knowledge and sound reasoning. His "*Origines Britannicæ*" also evinces the hand of a master: it is replete with learning and acuteness, and by far the best book which has appeared on the subject. We must, however, regret that nearly one half of the work consists in a refutation of the fables of Dempster, Hector Boëthius, Fordun, and others, who, but for the bishop's notice, would long since have been forgotten.

Contemporary with Stillingfleet were CAVE and WHARTON. The former was, indeed, a man of great reach of intellect and thought, as well as profound learning; and his works must find their way into every good library. WHARTON, wanting Cave's genius, was more of a compiler. His "*Anglia Sacra*" contains many curious biographical notices of the Fathers of the British Church.

MILTON's "*History of England*," which terminates at the Norman Conquest, has little to recommend it beside the name of the author; and even that name has not been able to preserve the book from general neglect.

Among those who have devoted themselves to the consideration of our British antiquities, the name of AYLETT SAMMES ought not to be omitted. His "*Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*" is an ingenious and learned work ; and whatever exception may be taken to some of the theories which it contains, much curious information may be derived from it.

No one can regard the majestic ruins of those Abbeys which are scattered throughout our land, without desiring to know something of their former inmates—something of those by whose munificence they were first erected. The "*Monasticon*" of Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE is a noble monument to the memory of such persons ; and we ought never to consult it without feeling indebted to the researches and labour of its author. The "*Notitia Monastica*" of Bishop TANNER, for the same reasons, has a claim to our regard.

RAPIN'S "*History of England*," which was published at the beginning of the eighteenth century, contains many particulars respecting the Early British Church, which have been thought well worthy of attention by Mosheim and other Ecclesiastical writers. His History, devoid as it is of elegance, is, upon the whole, a faithful record of

events; and when considered as the work of a foreigner, must strike us as a remarkable production. The unremitted labour which the author bestowed upon it is said to have cost him his life.

CARTE'S "*History of England*," although much neglected, is valuable, as the repository of many rare and curious documents. The partiality and bad taste of the author are apparent throughout his work.

COLLIER'S "*Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, chiefly England*," although his notices of the early British Church are exceedingly scanty, and by no means free from error, merits, upon the whole, the popularity which it now enjoys.

In that treasury of Ecclesiastical records and usages, BINGHAM'S "*Antiquities of the Christian Church*," the reader will find much, both directly and indirectly, relating to Britain. Indispensable as is this work to every well-informed Clergyman, and generally accurate as its very learned author is, the reader ought to be apprised that Bingham's *Map of Ancient Britain* is very incorrect; and that in the geographical position of the five provinces, into which the country was divided in the fourth century, he is at variance with Mr. Horsley and all our best Authorities.

WHEATLEY'S "*Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*" contains much that is relevant to the subject of which I treat in the following volumes ; as does also the more recent work of SHEPHERD.

Mr. HORSLEY'S "*Britannia Romana*" is the most accurate and valuable work, relative to the geographical position of the Romans in our island, that has ever appeared. Its author was gifted with ingenuity, judgment, and learning. Further praise of so eminent an antiquary would be superfluous, and almost impertinent. The works of WILLIAM BAXTER, relative to the same subject, although of far less merit, may be consulted with advantage ; as may also the *Histories of Cornwall and Anglesey*, by ROWLANDS and BORLASE.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, Mr. HUME put forth one or two volumes of his "*History of England* ;" a work so universally known, that it would be idle to say much respecting it. Suffice it to remark, that the ease of style, as well as the shrewdness of observation by which the work is characterized, have secured to it a popularity which has been denied to productions of far greater accuracy and research. It is well known that Mr. Hume was of an indolent disposition ; and neglected to

avail himself of the information with which the State-Paper Office, and other archives of the kingdom, could have supplied him.

A few years afterwards, Dr. HENRY published his "*History of Great Britain*," terminating with the reign of Henry the Seventh. This is one of the most useful works in the language. The judgment and sound sense of the author almost compensate for his want of genius. Henry brought great patience to the work of investigation; and has given us the most minute and exact information regarding the civil, domestic, and military affairs of the country at various periods. The most meagre part of the work is that which relates to our Ecclesiastical History.

In the year 1771, Mr. WHITAKER published the first volume of his "*History of Manchester*," under which title he has discussed almost every subject connected with the primitive state of Britain. Where History fails to supply him with materials, Imagination fills up the blank, and he expects the reader to concur with him in every thing which his own enthusiasm has suggested. This, however, is impossible; for, learned and ingenious as Whitaker undoubtedly is, no one can carefully read his work without being struck with many remarks

at variance not only with the best authorities, but with his own general argument.

In GIBBON'S "*History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*," the reader will find many curious and interesting particulars respecting Britain.

Of the works published during the present century, "*The Celtic Researches*," and "*The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*," of the Rev. EDWARD DAVIES are well worthy of attention. I must, however, remark, that the author, professing himself the disciple of Mr. Bryant and Mr. Maurice, is too often tempted, in imitation of those writers, to indulge in Mythological speculations; which, although they may excite admiration of his learning, by no means carry conviction with them.

The "*History of Brecknockshire*" by Mr. JONES, and of several of the Welch Counties by Sir SAMUEL MEYRICK and other able writers, together with the works of Sir R. C. HOARE, will furnish the reader with much information relative to the state of Ancient Britain. "*An Essay on the Welch Saints*," by the Rev. RICE REES, a gentleman whose promising career was terminated by an early death, will also be found very useful to the student of British History.

Of living authors who have treated of our early times, Mr. SHARON TURNER is perhaps the most laborious. In his "*History of the Anglo-Saxons*," he has placed the manners, habits, and attainments of that people almost as plainly before us as if we were living among them. He has, however, said scarcely any thing respecting the Anglo-Saxon Church. To supply this deficiency, we may have recourse to Mr. SOAMES's work, written expressly on the subject.

Mr. SOUTHEY's "*Book of the Church*," Mr. PALMER's "*Origines Liturgicæ*," and a variety of similar excellent publications, will no doubt suggest themselves to the reader, without my attempting to specify them.

In this review of writers who have treated of events anterior to, or closely following the Saxon Invasion, I have confined my attention to those of British, Saxon, or Norman descent; but the reader must ever bear in mind, that some of the most valuable information regarding Britain must be sought for in the pages of Gallic, Grecian, and Roman authors, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil. Some of these have written expressly, and others indirectly, upon the subject; but both classes are so numerous, that it would be idle to attempt to

enumerate them here. I have appealed and referred to them in almost every page of my work.

Although the foregoing catalogue of authors may be thought tedious by many of my readers, it will, I trust, prove serviceable to those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the early history of their country, and of the native sources from which such knowledge may faithfully be derived.

I now proceed to state briefly the purport of the following work. It has been my object to set before the reader the general state of Britain from the most ancient times: but the work is intended principally to throw light upon our Early Ecclesiastical History; so that, although I have detailed numerous Civil and Military transactions, I have done so in subordination to other views;—as a painter introduces a background, in order to give more effect to the main figures in his composition.

In treating of the transactions of ages comparatively dark, we can only make use of every faint glimmering of light, and endeavour to apply it faithfully to the illustration of the subject; not mistaking, in such dimness, shadows for substances, or indistinct and uncouth resemblances for symme-

trical and perfect forms. All this, I trust, I have borne fully in mind; reasoning often with probability only on my side, but assuming nothing for granted but that which has been fully proved. The result of such an investigation upon my own mind has been a conviction as to the following facts;—that about A.D. 60, a Church, consisting of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Lay Members, was established in Britain, extending itself, by slow degrees, widely through the country;—that, although at one time it was partially tainted by Arianism, at another by Pelagianism, and by no means free from some other corruptions, its vital doctrines were in general sound;—that it administered the Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper according to Divine command and Apostolic usage;—that it was independent of any foreign jurisdiction;—that it was productive of very great blessings to Society, whose true happiness and interests were then, as now, inseparable from Sovereignty in the State, and Episcopacy in the Church; and that this Episcopacy derived and transmitted its succession from the Apostles.

In these, and similar features, we cannot fail to trace a resemblance between the Ancient British Church and the Church of England as now existing.

To attempt to carry the likeness further, would be to substitute imagination for reality.

By diligent and minute research, I have, moreover, endeavoured to ascertain the period at which churches began to be erected in the land ; in what cities Episcopacy was established ; and what was the probable amount of the revenues of the British Bishops.

I have interspersed my work with many biographical notices of British and Roman Leaders, Ecclesiastics, and other distinguished characters, with a view to illustrate, as well as enliven, my subject.

I now conclude my Preface with offering up my prayer to God, that the Holy Catholic Church of England, which has flourished so many hundred years, and which has been purified and reformed from error, may ever prove herself the faithful depositary, interpreter, and teacher of Scriptural doctrine—the mightiest engine, in the hands of Providence, for advancing the temporal and eternal welfare of her members ! May her influence and resources be so extended, as to meet those awful demands upon her Ministry which are daily

increasing! May those who, from vanity, ignorance, or any other cause, have departed from her Communion, see their error, and repent of the guilt of schism!—and may all my countrymen one day join in addressing to the Church the fervent language of the heart, *Esto Perpetua!*

ANCIENT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS—ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF BRITAIN —
THE CELTS — PHŒNICIANS — TRACES OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE
PHŒNICIANS UPON THE MYTHOLOGY, LANGUAGE, AND MONUMENTS
OF ANCIENT BRITAIN—COMMERCE OF THE CARTHAGINIANS, GREEKS,
AND ROMANS, WITH BRITAIN—DRUIDISM—THE BARDS—THE FAIDS—
PROBABLE AMOUNT OF THE POPULATION OF BRITAIN BEFORE THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR—THAT INVASION CONSIDERED—CASSIBE-
LINUS—CUNOBELINUS—COINS OF THE LATTER—INVASION OF BRITAIN
UNDER AULUS PLAUTIUS—CARACTACUS.

THE pre-eminent station which Great Britain has for centuries occupied among the nations of the world, on account of her political and her ecclesiastical institutions, as well as on account of her power and glory, must render her an object of general attention and curiosity; whilst her own sons must regard every thing connected with her origin, her customs, and, above all, her Religion, with peculiar interest and veneration. With sentiments of this description—actuated by a strong love of my country—with a heart deeply sensible of

the many temporal advantages we enjoy—and, more especially, penetrated with the infinite blessings we have derived from the Christian Religion—I have endeavoured to investigate the period when the light of Christianity first dawned upon Britain, and also to state the nature and character of the Church which was established among us before the institutions and the very name of our country gave place to those of the Saxon invader. My object has been, wherever it was possible, to separate certainty from conjecture, and historical facts from vague assertions, and, as nearly as circumstances permit, to arrive at truth. Humbly and earnestly have I prayed that the great God of Truth would impart to me, his weak and unworthy creature, such a measure of understanding, that, through the confusion of early times, and the wilderness of error in which our ancient history is involved, I might yet, by a manifestation of the truth, in some faint degree assist in confirming the great and sacred cause of Patriotism and Religion.

Such being my aim and object, I trust I shall not be reproached for withholding assent from many surmises relative to ancient kings and saints which rest upon uncertain traditions. If the foundation be unsound, the legendary fabric built upon it,

however flattering to national vanity, must be overthrown by the careful historian. Neither the Church nor the Political Constitution of Great Britain can be aided by fiction. In treating, however, of those early periods which were either antecedent to historical records, or in which those records have been destroyed by war or other disasters, I have by no means discarded conjecture — I have, on the contrary, been frequently compelled to resort to it;— but I have endeavoured to do so with caution, and to assume nothing which does not result from a severe deduction from established facts.

It seems probable that Great Britain was once a portion of the Continent of Europe, and that its insularity was occasioned by an earthquake or a deluge. We may therefore reasonably suppose that its earliest inhabitants, after such a convulsion, were derived from the opposite shores, and consisted of certain tribes of Celts and Cimmerians. The question, as to the origin of the Celts themselves, has never been satisfactorily answered. Herodotus tells us, that, with the exception of the Cynetæ, they were the most remote people in the west of Europe¹. The general opinion among the

(¹) Herodot. lib. iv. c. 49.

learned is, that they were descended from Gomer, the grandson of Noah; and came, many centuries before the Goths and Saxons, into parts of Germany, Gaul, and Britain². In succeeding ages, numerous bodies of adventurers from Gaul appear to have established themselves, some earlier, some later, in various parts of this country. The dress, the language, the manners, the appearance of a great number of the British tribes are sufficient proofs that they came from Gaul. But other nations visited Britain, in very remote ages, for the purposes of commerce. The Phœnicians first, and the Carthaginians and Greeks afterwards, long carried on an intercourse with these islands. With the exception of the Hebrews, the Phœnicians were the

(²) One of the most curious genealogies, perhaps not more fabulous than many which are modern, is that of Brito, or Brute, contained in Nennius' History of the Britons. It is remarkable, that in this fabrication (which Nennius professes to have derived from ancient British sources), whilst a regular descent from Adam is assigned and specified to the heads of most of the other European tribes, no mention is made of the Celts. It is doubtful at what period the coming of Brute, or Brito, to this island was first asserted. It is however probable that the story originated about the third century among the Britons; who, imbibing the notions of their conquerors, adopted such a fiction, in order to soothe their own vanity by claiming a common descent with the Romans.

most interesting and wonderful people of antiquity. Nearly 1500 years before the Christian æra they taught Europe the use of letters. This, in all probability, as the Phœnician is said to have been a dialect of the ancient Hebrew language, they acquired from the Israelites, who at that time had received from the Almighty, through Moses, the Tables of the Law. The skill of the Phœnicians in many of the arts which contribute to the ornaments as well as the comforts of society—such, for instance, as the dyeing and manufacturing cloth³, and the working in brass, silver, and gold—was remarkable throughout the world⁴. But their greatest fame arose from their maritime knowledge. It was this which enabled them to extend their voyages beyond the Mediterranean Sea, to brave the terrors of the Atlantic Ocean, and to circumnavigate Africa⁵. When we consider that the country called Phœnice did not extend more than one hundred and twenty miles in length and twenty in breadth, the wealth, enterprise, and achievements of this people do indeed appear most extraordinary. After they had established themselves in Spain,

(³) Homer, *Iliad* vi. 290.

(⁴) *Ibid.* xxiii. 743.

(⁵) Herodot. iv. 42. See also Professor Heeren's Dissertation upon the Phœnicians; and Rennell's Geography of Herodotus.

where they formed numerous settlements, they fitted out from Gades those expeditions which traded with the islands denominated the Cassiterides, Hesperides, and Œstrymnides, by which names, beyond all reasonable doubt, parts of Britain and the Scilly Islands must be understood.

It is probable that the Phœnicians became acquainted with our coasts not less than 2800 years ago⁶; and it is not impos-
B.C
1000.
sible that some of the descendants of the fugitives from the destruction of Troy might have escaped to Britain in Phœnician vessels; thus giving some foundation to the story of Brute, which has thrown so much ridicule upon the histories of Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth. It seems to have been the custom with the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to choose for their settlements islands a short distance from the main countries to which they traded⁷; and thus we may suppose, that while

(⁶) Sir Isaac Newton agrees with Pliny in thinking that Melcartus, *i.e.* the Tyrian Hercules, was the discoverer of Britain.—*Chronolog.* p. 112. In the west corner of Devonshire, the name of Hercules is preserved in that of Hartland Point, the Ἡρακλέους ἄκρον of Ptolemy's Map.

(⁷) Thucydides tells us that the Phœnicians had settlements quite
round

their operations in search of tin, copper, and lead, were extended to the coasts of Cornwall and other districts, their principal abode, whilst in the British seas, was in the Isles of Scilly. The sea has effected great changes on the coast of Cornwall; and these islands were probably, in ancient times, by no means so dangerous or difficult of access as they are at present. We must also recollect, that the constant experience of the Phœnicians, in coasting voyages, gave them great advantages in this kind of navigation over modern nations, whose mariners are so much more habituated to the high seas. If it be said that it is not probable that Britain could have been visited by the Phœnicians for centuries during which it was unknown to other nations, it must be recollected that these daring mariners were exceedingly jealous of all interference with their foreign commerce; and that they succeeded so well in concealing the situation of the Cassiterides from the rest of the world, that even the inquisitive Herodotus confesses himself ignorant of it⁸.

round the coast of Sicily; and that they particularly secured the capes on the sea, and the small circumjacent isles, for the sake of trafficking with the natives.—*Thucyd.* lib. vi.

(⁸) Herodot. lib. iii. c. 115.—Most of my readers will recollect the
story

It is not accurately known from what parts of Britain lead was exported by the Phœnicians. But if they obtained it from those districts in which that metal now principally abounds, they must have been more generally acquainted with our island than most writers seem willing to allow. In such case, they must have known the lead-mines of the Coritani, who possessed Derbyshire; of the Dimetæ, in Cardiganshire; of the Ordovices, in Denbighshire; and of the Brigantes, who inhabited Yorkshire and Northumberland. It is not probable that the merchants either of Phœnice or Carthage extended themselves into the heart of Britain, where they could have obtained little adapted for exportation. Much, however, of their language, their customs, and their superstition, must have found their way into the country. No one can attentively consider the names of many places in Cornwall, the ancient words and monuments of

story told by Strabo of a Phœnician trading to the Cassiterides, who, when followed by a Roman vessel, wilfully run his own ship among the shallows, exposing himself and his pursuers to the same danger, in order to prevent the discovery of this market. The Phœnician, by throwing part of his cargo overboard, made his escape; and his countrymen, approving of his conduct, indemnified him from the public treasury.—*Strabo*, lib. iii.

that county, and of others bordering on the coast, without being struck with their Phœnician or Hebrew origin. It would be foreign to my purpose to enter deeply into this subject. I must refer the reader who is partial to such researches to the elaborate disquisitions of Bochart⁹. Still, it may be proper to specify a few instances, upon which I ground my opinion. And first, with regard to mythology. The religion of the Ancient Britons was evidently tinctured with Phœnician and Grecian, as well as with German and Gallic idolatry. The goddess Andraste, or Andate, like the Ashtaroth or Astarte of the Phœnicians, appears to have been a compound of Juno, Venus, and Cybele; and to have been worshipped with many of the ceremonies which the Scriptures inform us were observed towards that idol, who was styled the *Queen of Heaven*¹⁰. The worship of the sun, under the titles Bel, Belinus, Belatucardos, &c., might have come from Phœnice; as it seems to have been, in many respects, the same with that of Baal, so often mentioned in the Scriptures. The groves, also, in which the rites of Ashtaroth and Baal were principally celebrated, remind us of the woods which

(⁹) Bochart. *Geographia Sacra*.

(¹⁰) Jer. xlv. 18.

were dedicated to Druidical worship¹¹. The regard which, in Patriarchal times, was shewn towards the oak-tree afterwards became idolatrous among many of the Asiatic, African, and European nations ; and possibly gave rise to the Saronic Rites, and to the Oracles of Dodona. We know that hills with woods of ancient oaks were called *Saronia* by the Greeks. Hence the Druids themselves were styled Saronides. Diodorus Siculus, in speaking of the priests of Gaul, calls them Φιλόσοφοι, θεολόγοι—περιττῶς τιμώμενοι, οὗς ΣΑΡΩΝΙΔΑΣ ὀνομάζουσι¹² : — “ Philosophers and “ Divines, whom they call Saronidæ¹³, and are held “ in great veneration and esteem.”

(¹¹) Lucus in urbe fuit media, lætissimus umbrâ :

.

Hic templum Junoni ingens Sidonia Dido

Condebat.—

VIRGIL. *Æn.* i. 445 &c.

“ Full in the centre of the town there stood,

“ Thick set with trees, a venerable wood :

.

“ Sidonian Dido here with solemn state

“ Did Juno’s temple build, and consecrate.”

DRYDEN’S *Translation*.

(¹²) Lib. V. cap. 31.—Mr. Davies, in his “ Celtic Researches,” says that the word *Saronides* is British, being a compound of *Sêr*, “ stars ” ; and *honydd*, “ one who points out.”

(¹³) Druids ;—for the Saronidæ, or Saronids, are of the same signifi-

The most inhuman of the ancient British superstitions appears to have been derived from Phœnice; and the yearly sacrifice of human victims by fire, which was part of the worship of Moloch, perhaps gave rise to the custom of burning malefactors, and prisoners taken in war, and other detestable immolations practised by the Druids¹⁴.

Among the customs which prevailed among many of the Ancient Britons, one of the most degrading, possibly, originated in Phœnice;—I mean that relative to the intercourse between the sexes, which in some parts of Britain appears to have been nearly promiscuous. We learn, from the historian Socrates, that this was the case in the city of Heliopolis: Κοινὰς γὰρ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐγχώριος νόμος ἐκέλευε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφίβολα μὲν ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τικτόμενα· γονέων γὰρ καὶ τέκνων οὐδεμία

signification with Druids; the one of an oak, the other of a hollow oak.

(¹⁴) Bochart, with great learning and ingenuity, traces to the Phœnician or Hebrew language the nomenclature of a great portion of the idols worshipped by the Ancient Gauls and Britons; such as, Taramis, Hesus, Teutates, Belinus, &c.—*Geog. Sac.* lib. i.

The wounding themselves with knives was not peculiar to the priests of Baal; for we learn from Lucan, and Seneca, that the priests of Cybele did the same.—*Lucan.* i. 565. *Senec. Med.* 804.

διάκρισις ἦν¹⁵:—"Quippe apud illos, lex patria jubet
 "uxores communes esse. Quam ob causam incerti
 "apud eos erant liberi. Parentum enim ac libero-
 "rum nulla erat distinctio." But the Phœnicians
 not only introduced many of their own habits and
 superstitions among different nations: they were
 the carriers of the customs and opinions, as well
 as of the trade of other countries; and, along with
 their wares, must often have dispersed the seeds
 both of African and Asiatic idolatry in Europe. In
 this manner we may, I think, account for some rites
 among the Druids which savour of an Assyrian and
 Egyptian origin. With regard to the argument
 derived from etymology in proof of the great influ-
 ence exercised by the Phœnicians in Cornwall and
 other maritime districts, I shall content myself
 with selecting, out of a multitude, those local names
 which involve the words *Pol*, *Tre*, *Pen*, *Caer*, and
Lan; and a few others taken at random, such as,
Melcomb, *Marazian*, *Sunnen Sennan*, &c., all which
 appear to be derived from a Phœnician or Hebrew
 source¹⁶. But if the interference of the Phœnicians

(¹⁵) Socrat. Hist. lib. i. c. 18.

(¹⁶) The reader is again referred to Bochart; who, although he
 does not bring forward all the names I have stated, adduces many
 others of a similar description.

with the affairs of Britain may be inferred from the ancient mythology and language of the country, the energy and science of those ardent adventurers may, I think, be no less traced in those stupendous monuments which are usually ascribed to the Druids. It appears to me that the prodigious stone in the parish of Constantine in Cornwall, which rests on two rocks, touching them as it were on their points—that the two Tolmen in Scilly, and Stonehenge itself—could only have been raised with the assistance of a people who, like the Phœnicians, had skill in mechanical science. “There is,” says Norden, in his *Account of Cornwall*, “a rock upon the topp of a hill near Bliston, on which standeth a beacon; and on the topp of the rock lyeth a stone, which is three yards and a haulfe longe, four foote broad, and two and a haulfe thicke; and it is equally balanced, that the wind will move it, whereof I have had true experience. And a man with his little finger can easily stirr it, and the strength of many cannot remove it¹⁷.” These

(¹⁷) “Norden’s Cornwall,” p. 74. Mr. Davies, in that learned but inconclusive work, “*Celtic Researches*,” appears to think differently from myself on the subject of the Phœnicians. But in his “*Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*,” when speaking of Stonehenge, he says: “I have some kind of evidence that what

monuments cannot fail to remind us of others in different parts of the world; some of which have either been ascribed to Hercules, or have been erected in countries bordering on Phœnice. Take, for instance, the monument raised, according to Apollonius Rhodius, by Hercules, in the Isle of Tenos, to the memory of Calais and Zetes, whom he had slain :—

—ᾧ *Ἡ τέ σφι στυγερὴν τίσις ἔπλετ' ὀπίσσω*
Χερσὶν ὑφ' Ἡρακλῆος, ὃ μιν δίζεσθαι ἔρουν.
Ἄθλων γὰρ Πελῖαο δεδουπότος ἄψ' ἀνιόντας
Τήνῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ πέφνε, καὶ ἀμήσατο γαῖαν
Ἄμφ' αὐτοῖς, στήλας τε δύν καθύπερθεν ἔτευξεν·
ᾧ ἑτέρῃ, Θάμβος περιώσιον ἀνδράσι λεύσσειν,
*Κίνυται ἡχήμεντος ὑπὸ πνοιῇ Βορέας*¹⁸.

“ From Pelias’ rites return’d, they met their doom,
 “ Alcides’ hand, which slew them, rais’d their tomb
 “ In Tenos’ isle :—a mound of earth appear’d,
 “ And one vast column on another rear’d.
 “ Pois’d there by wondrous art, the stone above,
 “ Touch’d by the northern blast, is seen to move.”

was exotic in the system of the Britons, came to them by the way of Cornwall, and therefore was probably derived to them from the Phœnicians.”—P. 305.

(¹⁸) Ἄργοναντίκων A. 1304 &c.—Zethes and Calais were slain, according to Apollonius, by Hercules, on account of their having prevented, upon one occasion, the ship Argo from sailing, when the wind was favourable.

The pillars which have been raised for idolatrous purposes, in different parts of the world, probably owe their origin, like many other heathen usages, to the perversion of a Patriarchal practice. We know that Jacob set up more than one pillar as a memorial of God's mercy and power¹⁹, and that the Canaanites and Israelites soon learned to rear such obelisks in adoration of their false gods. The wrath of Jehovah was frequently denounced against such abominations²⁰. According to fifteen of Dr. Kennicot's Codices, and according to the interpretation of the Septuagint, those were pillars, and not images, which Jehu brought forth from the house of Baal and broke in pieces²¹. A stone, probably of this description, was to be seen, according to Herodian, in the magnificent Temple of the Sun, in the city of Emesa, not very distant from Tyre :—*Ἀγαλμα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις, οὐδὲν ἔστηκε χειροποίητον, Θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δέ τις ἐστὶ μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερὴς, λήγων εἰς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινα τε ἡ χροιά· διοπετῇ τε αὐτὸν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν*²² :—

(¹⁹) Gen. xxviii. 18. xxxi. 45.

(²⁰) Deut. vii. 5.

(²¹) 2 Kings x. 26, 27.

(²²) Herodian. lib. v. cap. 5. — Borlase remarks some stupendous remains of monuments in the islets of Scilly. Surely it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Phœnicians may have erected, or suggested the erection of these monuments. The art being once learnt,

“There is no image, as among the Greeks and Romans, to represent the God, but an exceeding large stone, round at the bottom and terminating in a point, of a conical form, and black colour; which they pretend to have fallen down from Jupiter.”

Many of the Hebrew nation are said to have accompanied the Phœnicians in their voyages to this country. A tradition is mentioned by Norden as strongly prevalent in Cornwall—that the tin-mines of that district had once been worked by the Jews. The character of the ancient tools and instruments which have been found are supposed to confirm this notion. We know the strict friendship which at one time prevailed between the kings of Tyre and Judæa²³, and the great liberality with which the latter was furnished with men and ships by Hiram²⁴, under whose authority and instructions the mariners of Solomon may possibly have visited Britain.

B.C.
1004.

learnt, the Druids may have raised similar piles, in numerous other places, without any assistance.

(²³) 1 Kings, ch. v. and ix.

(²⁴) 2 Chron. viii. 18 :—“ And Hiram sent him, by the hands of his servants, ships and servants that had knowledge of the sea ; and they

It is not known how long the Phœnicians continued their trade with Britain; but probably it expired with the capture of Tyre by Alexander. The Carthaginians for some time monopolized the commerce which before they had divided with the parent country, maintaining their intercourse with Britain upon the same advantageous terms, receiving commodities of great worth in exchange for articles of little value. But a fate as heavy as that which had befallen Tyre awaited Carthage. Her long and destructive wars with Rome called off her attention from mercantile affairs. Not Hannibal himself could save her.

B.C.
332.

The Greeks had begun to trade with Britain before the decline of Carthage²⁵. The Phocæans, who were the earliest navigators among the Greeks, had established a very flourishing colony at Marseilles, more than 500 years before the Christian

they went with the servants of Solomon to Ophir, and took thence four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and brought them to king Solomon."

(²⁵) Polybius, in the Third Book of his General History, makes mention of the British Islands, and alludes to the manner of preparing tin; but the separate treatise which, as he tells us, he wrote upon such subjects, is lost.

æra²⁶; and Pytheas, an inhabitant of that city, is said to have visited our shores about 200 years afterwards²⁷. The connection of the
B.C.
300.
 Greeks with Britain may, probably, be dated from the days of Pytheas. In the course of time, the trade assumed a new character. The tin, lead, and skins of Britain, instead of being immediately shipped in Scilly, Cornwall, and other maritime districts, are said to have been taken to the Isle of Wight²⁸, thence transported to Vennes²⁹ and other ports of Brittany, afterwards conveyed overland to Marseilles, and finally exported to all parts of the world which traded with the Greeks. But a rival to Marseilles, in this profitable traffic, rose up in her own immediate neighbourhood. About a century before the Christian æra, the Romans,
B.C.
100.
 who concentrated in themselves the wealth, power, and glory of all the greatest nations of antiquity, planted a colony at Narbonne, and made it the capital of their principal province in

(²⁶) Justin. lib. xliii. c. 3.

(²⁷) Strabo, lib. iii. & iv.

(²⁸) Diodorus Siculus says, that at low water the space between the continent of Britain and the Isle of Wight (Ictis) became dry land, and that great quantities of tin were carried over to that island in carts and waggons.—Lib. v. and lib. xxii. p. 347.

(²⁹) Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 168.

Gaul³⁰. From this time, Narbonne appears to have shared with Marseilles in the trade of the British Islands³¹.

There can be no doubt, then, that the coasts of Britain were visited, at different times, by the merchants of various nations; an intercourse with whom, it might be supposed, would have imparted to the country in general a considerable degree of civilization. But Britain, instead of being united under one firm and vigorous system of government, was divided into numerous tribes, who scarcely ever were at peace with each other, and whose only proficiency was in the art of destruction. Destitute of the comforts and conveniences of life, the skill at which the Ancient Britons had arrived in war is indeed most surprising. The same people, many of whom were clothed in the skins of animals, or who, without even this covering, wandered about with naked and painted bodies—the same people, whose huts were scarcely sufficient to protect them from the weather—were carried to battle

(³⁰) Strabo, lib. iv. p. 189.

(³¹) Ibid. lib. iv.—The reader who wishes to be more minutely informed upon these subjects is referred to Henry's History of England, and to Whitaker's History of Manchester.

in chariots of curious workmanship and construction, which they managed with singular dexterity³². Their bodies of infantry and cavalry also appear to have been very numerous, and to have fought with great discipline and valour³³. But while all appear to have been warlike, some of the British tribes were much more civilized than others³⁴. Thus, while the inhabitants of the country which lay nearest to Gaul were manuring and tilling their lands, living in decent cottages, and clothed in suitable garments of their own manufacture, the tribes of the inland and western districts were ignorant of agriculture, and lived altogether upon

(³²) Several kinds of wheel-carriages and war-chariots are mentioned by different Greek and Roman writers as in use among the Ancient Britons. DR. HENRY has entered into a specific explanation of the Benna, Petoritum, Currus or Carrus, Covinus, Essedum, Rheda, &c.—Book I. ch. 5. We may form some idea of the force in chariots which a successful leader could bring into the field, from Cæsar's account of the number which Cassivellaunus, even when defeated, was able to retain in his service. His words are: "*Dimissis amplioribus copiis, millibus circiter quatuor essedariorum relictis.*"—CÆS. *de Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 19.

"[Cassivellaunus] disbanded the greatest part of his forces, retaining only about 4000 chariots."—BLADEN'S *Translation*.

(³³) Cæs. *de Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. c. 32. lib. v. c. 22. Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xii. c. 33. Vit. Agric. c. xxv. xxvi.

(³⁴) Ibid. lib. v. c. 14.

milk and flesh. In the northern parts of the island the natives were in a much more savage condition, roaming about in skins, or nearly naked, in search of a precarious subsistence, which they obtained by hunting³⁵. What, then, were the causes of this abject state of ignorance and internal dissensions which prevailed for so many centuries in Britain? They are, to a certain extent, attributable, I think, to Superstition—to that terrible superstition which exercised so vast an influence over the people.

This leads us to the consideration of Druidism³⁶. I am aware that the research and ingenuity of many learned men have been exercised upon this subject: still, I do not think that it is exhausted. The origin of the Druids is lost in obscurity. It is probable, however, that they existed in Britain not less than a thousand years before the Christian æra. Many of their notions appear to have been derived, like most of the heathen superstitions, from a

(³⁵) Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xiii. c. 11. Cluv. Germ. Ant. lib. i. c. 16.

(³⁶) "By their fruits ye shall know them," is, I think, the best test of creeds, as well as of persons. Whatever the original doctrines and intention of Druidism might have been, a system which for centuries produced no good effect upon the people generally must have become wofully degenerate and corrupt.

divine source³⁷. But the truths which they acquired, by tradition, from the only true fountain of knowledge were soon debased by their own devices, and by a mixture with the corrupt notions and practices of Egypt, Phœnice, and Greece. I say little of the religion of the Romans, as that was a system of plagiarism from the mythology of other nations.

The Druids have been divided, by some writers, into the various classes of Vacerri, Bardi, Eubages, Semnothii, and Saronidæ; but I shall confine myself to those which are enumerated by Strabo³⁸—the Bards, the Vates or Faids, and the Druids; although the last term is considered, generally, as comprehensive of the two former.

The Bards, although educated by the Druids, seem not to have administered any of the rites of religion. They were a class of men often domesticated in the families of kings and other eminent

(³⁷) The reader may consult Mr. Davies' Work upon the Mythology of the British Druids, relative to the connection between that superstition and the Patriarchal religion, with much advantage.

(³⁸) Strabo, lib. iv. p. 197.

persons. They celebrated the praises of living and departed heroes ; they animated the courage of the warrior ; and heightened the enjoyment of the banquet. The kind feeling with which they were regarded, and the habits of intimacy in which they lived with the great men of their country, were similar, although of a ruder description, to the sentiments and practices which anciently prevailed in Greece. We know the esteem and admiration with which the Greeks regarded their Aoidoi or Rhapsodists³⁹. Into whatever country they might travel, the delight which they imparted by their songs ensured to them a respectful and cordial reception among all classes of the people. Their profession exempted them from some of the most fearful dangers and calamities that afflict mankind. They could watch the workings of envy, hatred, and revenge, in individuals and in the multitude ; they could often mitigate or inflame those passions ; and, when violent consequences ensued, they could behold in safety the rage and carnage of battle. Such was the force of poetry in the rugged breasts

(³⁹) In Ancient Greece, some of the votaries of the Muses were more favoured by Fortune than they have subsequently been even in Britain. Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, and others, have been greatly distinguished ; but Amphion and Melampus were kings !

of the Ancient Britons. Poetry, indeed, appears to have been the vehicle of almost all their knowledge. The records of their history were composed in verse, and sung to the music of the harp. No sooner had a chieftain determined upon a warlike expedition, than he selected certain favourite Bards to attend him, in order that they might witness and celebrate his actions. "It is the custom," says Posidonius of Apamea, "with all Celtic Princes, when they go to war, to take with them a number of poets, who eat at their tables, and sing their praises to the multitude who flock around them"⁴⁰.—"The Bards," says Ammianus Marcellinus, "record the exploits of Heroes, in poems, which they sing to the soft sound of the lyre"⁴¹. One of the first requisites in the British Bards, like those of Ancient Greece, was to know and to recite many pleasing tales⁴²; and it was the professed object of their art to delight both gods and men⁴³. Their songs were adapted to increase the hilarity of the banquet, to beguile the irksomeness of a journey, and to soothe pain. Every incident, in short, which affected the

(⁴⁰) Athanæ. lib. vi. c. 12.

(⁴¹) Ammian. Marcel. lib. xv. c. 9.

(⁴²) Πολλὰ θελκτήρια.—HOMER.

(⁴³) Θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι ᾄδειν.—HOMER.

heart, whether in peace or war, was made the subject of a poem ⁴⁴.

The Vates, or Faids, are the next class among the Druids, whom I proposed to consider. These men were undoubtedly of the priestly order. The general esteem and affection with which the Bards were regarded were increased, with respect to the Faids, by the veneration claimed by the latter, as ministers of religion. They poured forth the pretended revelations of the gods, and the issue of coming events, in hymns which they sung to their harps. The piety of the priest, and the inspiration of the prophet, which they were supposed to unite, were certainly heightened by the enthusiasm of poetry. This enthusiasm they often communicated to their hearers, in whom they were able to excite the passions of rage and fear, love and hatred, a contempt of danger and of death, a thirst of blood, and an eager desire for any great and terrible enterprise. As writing was not practised by them for the purpose of communicating knowledge, succeeding Faids were accustomed to repeat the verses of their predecessors. In the effect produced by these effusions, Memory was assisted by Observation.

(⁴⁴) Pellontier *Histoire des Celtes*, lib. ii. c. 9.

A thorough knowledge of human-nature in general, and of the particular situation of their hearers, enabled the Faids to amplify, retrench, or amend their compositions, whenever circumstances demanded such alteration; and their fervid appeals to human passions were mistaken for inspiration. They did not, as did the Prophets of the one True God, excite their hearers to deeds of benevolence, justice, and truth; they did not invoke the Deity, as did the Prophets of Israel, as a God of love and mercy, of perfect purity and holiness, requiring, above other offerings, the sacrifice of a pure, an humble, and contrite heart; but they represented the objects of their idolatrous worship as terrible and vindictive Beings, who delighted in deeds of violence, and who were not to be appeased without the frequent shedding of human blood ⁴⁵.

The Roman poet has well described the dreadful practices resorted to by the Ancient Britons in adoration of their gods :—

(⁴⁵) Mr. THEOPHILUS JONES, in his *History of Brecknockshire*, labours to exculpate the Druids from the terrible charge of shedding human blood in their sacrifices; but his arguments, however ingenious, cannot outweigh the united testimony of ancient and classical writers upon this subject.—Vol. I. p. 203, &c.

Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,
 Obscurum cingens connexis aëra ramis,
 Et gelidas alte submotis solibus umbras.
 Hunc non ruricolæ Panes, nemorumque potentes
 Silvani, Nymphæque tenent, sed barbara ritu
 Sacra deum, structæ diris altaribus aræ,
 Omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbor⁴⁶.

LUCAN. iii. 399.

“ Not far away, for ages past, had stood
 “ An old unviolated sacred wood;
 “ Whose gloomy boughs, thick interwoven, made
 “ A chilly, cheerless, everlasting shade.
 “ There, not the rustic Gods nor Satyrs sport,
 “ Nor Fawns and Sylvans with the Nymphs resort;
 “ But barb’rous priests some dreadful Power adore,
 “ And lustrate every tree with human gore.”

ROWE.

In many of these murderous orgies to which they applied the sacred name of Religion, it is believed the Faids took part, although their office was principally confined to the musical departments of worship. The agency of the Faids was

(⁴⁶) It is singular, that while the Romans affected to regard with horror the human sacrifices of other nations, they were occasionally guilty of such practices themselves, even in their most civilized ages. Thus Augustus ordered 300 Senators and Equites, who had sided with Anthony, to be sacrificed as victims at the altar of Julius Cæsar.—SÆTON. *Augustus*, 15.

here employed to drown the cries of those human victims who were offered up to their gods.

I come now to speak of that comprehensive class of priests denominated Druids, of which the Bards and Faids formed only a section. The Druids seem to have been generally dispersed over Great Britain, although they were much more numerous in some places than in others. Their chief settlement was in the Isle of Anglesey, then called Mona⁴⁷. Here resided the principal Druid, in such barbarous magnificence as the times afforded. Here, it is said, traces of his dwelling, and those of some eminent persons of his order, are still visible⁴⁸. Here exists one place which is still called Myfyriion, or "The place of studies"; a second place, called Caer Edris, or "The city of astronomers"; and a third place, called Cerrig Brudyn, or "The astronomer's circle"⁴⁹. The Druids of Britain were looked up to by the Gauls as most perfectly acquainted with all the learning, rites, and mysteries of their common superstition; and into Britain it was, accordingly, that those who wished to acquire any thing like a proficiency in the principles of

(⁴⁷) Rowlands' *Mona Antiqua*, p. 81.

(⁴⁸) *Ibid.*

(⁴⁹) *Ibid.*

Druidism were sent⁵⁰. Here, also, it is said, Druidism had its rise. No less a period than twenty years was considered necessary to acquire the various knowledge requisite to qualify a person for the office of a Druid⁵¹. This course of education is said to have comprised about twenty thousand verses⁵². Nor, when we consider the great range of acquirements which the system included, can we wonder at the length of such a probation, and at the tax upon the memory and attention which it imposed. Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Arithmetic, Geometry, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Poetry, and Rhetoric, besides the false and pernicious arts of Astrology and Magic, seem to have been professed and taught by the Druids. That they were not mere sciolists, we learn from the statements of those who were themselves accom-

(⁵⁰) “*Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur: et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.*”—*De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. c. 13.

“ ’Tis thought this discipline was first instituted in England, “ and from thence transferred to Gaul: for even at this day, those “ who desire to be perfectly skilled in that science take a voyage “ thither to learn it.”—BLADEN.

(⁵¹) *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. c. 14.

(⁵²) Borlase, *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 85.

plished in many of these sciences. Cicero and Cæsar, Pliny and Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and others, all speak with respect of the acquirements of the Druids ; although, as the latter carefully concealed their principles and opinions from the rest of the world, no accurate account of them has ever been obtained or recorded.

It seems almost certain that the Druids acquired much of their knowledge from the different nations that traded to their shores, and much from the Phocæan colony at Marseilles.

The Metempsychosis, or transmigration of human souls into other bodies after death, which was a leading article in the creeds of the Druids as well as of the Pythagoreans, was a notion originally derived from Egypt, the native land of superstition : and certainly, notwithstanding the contrary opinions of some writers, it is more probable that the Druids of Gaul should have learned this doctrine from some of the followers of Pythagoras at Marseilles, and thence communicated it to Britain ; than that Pythagoras himself, who had undoubtedly been in Egypt, should have acquired it from the Gauls. The influence produced on the surrounding country by the manners and acquirements of

the Phocæan colonists at Marseilles is known to have been considerable⁵³, and might, to a certain degree, through the medium of commerce, have extended itself to Britain. In this manner, it is probable that some of the doctrines of Pythagoras were acquired by the Druids. But it would be degrading Pythagoras, who effected so much for the moral and intellectual improvement of Greece, to compare him with men who, whatever their own acquirements might have been, were the patrons of ignorance, as regarded the community. Allowing the knowledge of the Druids in some departments of science to have been considerable, we are certain

(⁵³) “*Ab his igitur Galli, et usum vitæ cultioris, depositâ et mansuefactâ barbariâ, et agrorum cultus, et urbes mœnibus cingere didicerunt. Tunc et legibus, non armis vivere, tunc et vitem putare, tunc olivam serere consueverunt: adeoque magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur.*”—JUSTIN. lib. xliii. c. 4.

“ From them, therefore, the Gauls learnt both the use of a more
 “ polite way of life, their (former) barbarity being laid aside and
 “ corrected, and the tillage of lands, and the inclosure of cities
 “ within walls. Then they became accustomed to live by laws,
 “ not arms; to prune vines, and plant olives: and so bright a face
 “ was put both upon men and things, that Greece seemed not to
 “ have been removed into Gaul, but Gaul (seemed) transplanted
 “ into Greece.”—J. CLARKE.

that it produced no adequate effect in improving the condition of the people. For interested purposes, they must have driven away the people from the avenues of information, and kept the key of knowledge exclusively in their own possession. But we must go further than this ; and in considering the barbarous condition in which a quick and sensitive people were for centuries sunk, we must charge the Druids with fomenting dissension. Instead of attempting to reconcile the differences of contending tribes, and of diffusing a taste for agriculture, commerce, and other peaceful arts, they seem, for the sake of the revenue and influence, which were always augmented by a successful war, to have stimulated their countrymen to perpetual hostility.

I have mentioned several other quarters from which the Druids derived many parts of their mythology. But, allowing that they borrowed a great deal, their system was intrinsically their own, and probably as ancient as that of Greece or Rome. This at least seems certain, that many of the idols adored by the Greeks and Romans—such as, Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, and others—had a Celtic derivation. But it is impossible to account for the many points of strong resemblance to each

other in the religious rites and institutions observed in Britain, and in remote countries with which she could have no communication, unless we suppose that these rites and institutions were derived from the same original. Hideously deformed and mutilated as they in the course of time became, by the wicked devices of men and by the suggestions of the devil, still they retain, in some particulars, a likeness to that form of Revelation which God imparted to the Patriarchs. Thus we find some intimations of the atonement for human sin, and of the immortality of the soul, in almost all the religious systems that ever existed. Some ingenious men, misled by their imaginations, and by their very learning, have carried this argument too far, and applied it too minutely⁵⁴. A likeness certainly exists, in the worst superstitions, to the true Religion; but it is, I repeat, a hideously distorted one. The mis-shapen images among the savages of the Pacific Ocean bear as strong a resemblance to the best specimens of the human form as the

(⁵⁴) This remark applies, I think, to Jacob Bryant's *Ancient Mythology*, and to Maurice's *History of Hindostan*. Mr. Davies, although not quite so great an enthusiast as the two former writers, has pushed his theory, with regard to the Mythology of the British Druids, quite as far as reason or analogy will warrant.

Pagan systems do to the Patriarchal and Judaïc dispensations ; and with regard to Christianity, we may affirm that the rude colossean wicker images of the Britons, which consumed their enclosed victims in flames amid the shouts of the multitude; may as aptly be compared to our magnificent temple of St. Paul's—thronged with devout worshippers, sending up their hosannas to God, in all the beauty of holiness—as Druidism can be likened to the dispensation of the Gospel.

It is one great characteristic of Christianity, that it is the religion of the poor as well as of the wealthy ; that its doctrines are calculated to cheer, adorn, and elevate every class of society, because they teach us that there is one God and Father of all—that Christ died for all—and that the Holy Spirit will strengthen and sanctify all who strive and pray for His assistance : they teach us, that all are responsible and immortal beings—that all must love their neighbour, and worship God in spirit and in truth. Whatever might be the secret doctrines of the Druids—and it is believed that they did hold doctrines far more reasonable and elevated than those which they promulgated—their superstition seems to have been intended to act upon the multitude only through the medium of terror.

Did it thunder?—then Taranis was offended, and it was necessary to avert his anger by costly gifts. Did disease prevail among the cattle? or did the sun withhold his genial influence?—then must Belinus be propitiated by similar offerings. But did famine or pestilence thin the numbers of the people, or did the war in which they might be engaged assume an unfavourable aspect, nothing might then appease their dreadful idols but the sacrifice of human victims.

Some of their modes of divination were marked by the same detestable cruelty. “They have a
 “ great veneration,” says Diodorus Siculus, “for
 “ those who discover future events, either from
 “ the flight of birds, or from inspecting the entrails
 “ of certain victims; and all the people yield im-
 “ plicit faith to their interpretations. Upon great
 “ occasions, they resort to a mode of divination
 “ monstrous and incredible. They take a man
 “ who is to be sacrificed, and, striking him with
 “ a sword above the diaphragm, kill him with a
 “ single blow. From observations upon the posture
 “ in which he falls, his different convulsions, and
 “ the direction in which the blood flows from the
 “ body, their predictions are formed according to
 “ certain rules which have been delivered down

“to them by their ancestors⁵⁵.” Many of their other practices, with regard to magic and astrology, although not so cruel, were revolting to what we justly call common sense. In these arts the Druids were so minutely skilled, that Pliny tells us the Magi of Persia might have derived instruction from them⁵⁶. Blended with these abominations, many of the observances of the Druids were of so trifling and ridiculous a character, that we cannot suppose men of so much shrewdness could have been in earnest when they resorted to them ;— I allude to their solemn processions and ceremonies, in going forth to cut mistletoe from the oak with a golden bill⁵⁷—to the all-healing properties which they ascribed to mistletoe⁵⁸—to their fables respecting the anguinum or serpent’s egg⁵⁹, and to many other absurdities.

(⁵⁵) Diodor. Sic. lib. v. cap. 31.

(⁵⁶) Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1.

(⁵⁷) Ibid. lib. xvi. c. 44.

(⁵⁸) Ibid.

(⁵⁹) Ibid. lib. xxix. c. 3.—See also Borlase’s Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 142. I am aware that some of these notions prevailed in other countries. Thus we find VIRGIL alluding to the efficacy of mistletoe taken from the oak :—

Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit ;

Quale solet silvis, brumali frigore, *viscum*

Fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,

But while their idle ceremonies and charms, as well as their dark and dreadful rites and incantations, were adapted to delude and to awe the ignorant multitude, the Druids certainly possessed much useful and practical knowledge; or rather, I should say, that all valuable information centred in them. They were the instructors of the youth of the country; whom, however, they taught only that which best suited their own purposes. They knew a good deal of astronomy: they were well acquainted with the geometrical division of land; and decided upon all differences as to property. In short, they were the statesmen, legislators, priests, physicians, lawyers, teachers, and poets of Britain; so that they bound both the minds and bodies, the consciences and property, of their brethren, by the ties of interest and superstition.

Et croceo fœtu teretes circumdare truncos :

Talis erat species auri frondentis, *opaca*

Ilice.——

Æn. vi. 204.

“ Through the green leaves the glitt’ring shadows glow ;

“ As on the sacred oak, the wintry misletoe :

“ Where the proud mother views her precious brood ;

“ And happier branches, which she never sow’d.

“ Such was the glitt’ring ; such the ruddy rind,

“ And dancing leaves, that wanton’d in the wind.”

DRYDEN.

It may justly be supposed that the revenues as well as the authority derived by the Druids from these various sources were unlimited. Money, indeed, was not introduced into Britain for general use prior to the invasion of Julius Cæsar; so that almost all payments must have been made in kind. But while they were themselves exempted from every tax and personal service, a great proportion of the offerings and the lands of their countrymen were at the disposal of the Druids.

It was a frequent custom with the tribes of Gaul and Britain to dedicate the cattle and other principal spoils acquired in war to that god to whose favour and intervention they ascribed their victory. The Druids, if they did not appropriate, at least administered these spoils. Again, it was usual with kings and other leaders to consult the Druids, as diviners, relative to the success of any projected enterprise. We know how much Balaam, in very ancient times, was allured by the wealth and distinction awarded to the augurs of future events; and we have reason to suppose that the same kind of honours and rewards were anticipated and received by the Druids upon similar occasions⁶⁰.

(⁶⁰) The reputation of the Druids, as prophets and magicians,
was

I shall specify another remarkable mode by which the Druids secured to themselves the tributes of the people. We are told that all families were in the habit of paying certain annual dues to the Druid of that temple within whose district they dwelt. On a certain evening, corresponding to that of the last of October, these families were obliged, under the terrible penalty of excommunication, to extinguish their fires, and to attend and pay this annual tribute at the temple. On the following morning, some of the sacred fire was given from the altar to every one of these families, in order that their own hearths might be rekindled. Neglect of this attendance and payment reduced each delinquent to a state of the greatest destitution. His friends and neighbours were forbidden to supply him with fire: if they did so, they also became subject to the same fearful sentence of excommunication; they were excluded from the sacred rites and solemnities, from all the comforts of society, and from all the benefit and protection of law and justice⁶¹.

was so high, that they were sometimes consulted even by the Roman Emperors.—*Lamprid. in Alexand. Vopisc. Aurelian. et Numerian.*

(⁶¹) Toland's *History of the Druids*, pp. 71, 72.—Henry's *History of Great Britain*, Book I. ch. ii. sect. 1.

And here, without wishing to make invidious comparisons, it is impossible to reflect upon the Druidical rites and customs and not be struck by their resemblance to many of those which prevail in the Roman-Catholic Church. Take, for instance, the sentence of excommunication as heretofore pronounced by the Druids and by the Romish authorities. The following are the words of Cæsar, as descriptive of the former: “Si quis aut privatus
 “ aut publicus, eorum decreto non steterit, sacrificiis
 “ interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima.
 “ Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum
 “ ac sceleratorum habentur: iis omnes decedunt,
 “ aditum eorum sermonemque diffugiunt, ne quid
 “ ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis
 “ petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus com-
 “ municatur⁶².” Surely these words might be applied, without any variation, to the anathemas of the Pope, and the tremendous consequences which

(⁶²) Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. cap. 13.—“Whoever refuses to
 “ abide by their decree, either lord or vassal, is excommunicated,
 “ which is the greatest penalty that can be inflicted amongst them :
 “ for they who lie under the condemnation of this sentence are
 “ reckoned in the number of the wicked ; all people shun them,
 “ and avoid their company as contagious ; they are not permitted
 “ to sue for justice, or to discharge any office in the common-
 “ wealth.”—BLADEN.

once attended them. Nor were these consequences, in either case, confined to the term of mortal existence. The doctrine of the *Transmigration of souls*, insisted upon by the Druids to suit their artful views, and that of Purgatory, inculcated for similar purposes by the Romish Authorities, alarmed the fears and secured the obedience of their respective votaries, more irresistibly, perhaps, than any threats or penalties affecting this life only.

In one great point, in which the Druids and the Romish Priesthood equally strove to extend their authority, the former were far more successful; I mean, in maintaining that they were the expounders and depositaries of human as well as of divine laws, the violation of which were held to be crimes, not against the temporal Prince, but against Heaven and its ministers, the expiation of which was solely committed to the Druids. Whether in arms, or in any peaceful occupation, the Briton convicted of a crime expected punishment, not from his General or Sovereign, but from the hands of the Druids.

The frequent wars and disturbances to which a disputed election to the Popedom gave rise again remind us of the words of Cæsar: “His autem

“ omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam
 “ inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si quis
 “ ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit: at si sunt
 “ plures pares, suffragio Druidum allegitur: non-
 “ nunquam etiam de principatu armis contendunt ⁶³.”

The collegiate and sequestered life of many of the Druids appears to have been extremely similar to that of the Monks in after-ages; while the Nuns had a prototype in the Druidæ. The latter were females who assisted in the offices and shared in the honours of the priesthood. The Druidæ of Gaul and of Britain are said to have been divided into three classes:—those of the first class, who had vowed perpetual virginity, and lived together in sisterhoods, very much secluded from the world. The second class consisted of certain devotees, who, although married, spent the greatest part of their time in the society of the Druids, and in the offices of their superstition, conversing only occasionally with their husbands. The third class was com-

(⁶³) Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13.—“ The Druids have a
 “ superintendant, to whom they are all subject, upon whose decease
 “ the most worthy succeeds; but if there happened to be several
 “ candidates, the election is decided by majority of votes, and
 “ sometimes by the sword.”—BLADEN.

posed of such as performed the most servile offices about the temple and the persons of the Druids⁶⁴.

The resemblance which we have traced in so many other particulars seems to hold good with respect to numbers; for we are told, by a very careful and elaborate writer, that the British Druids probably bore as great a proportion to the rest of the people as the Popish Clergy, in modern times, bear to the laity⁶⁵.

Such was the state of Britain at the time it was invaded by Julius Cæsar. Knowledge then centered almost exclusively in the Druids. The Chiefs and people were warlike: but the country was divided into thirty-eight separate small kingdoms; many of which were sub-divided into smaller tribes, generally at variance with each other; and the multitude were sunk in poverty, and in gross ignorance and superstition. A great portion of the country bordering on the coast was occupied by tribes some of whom had come very lately from the Continent. The Cattivellauni, Belgæ, Atrebatii, Bibroci, Regni, Cantii, and others, had evidently

(⁶⁴) Henry's History of Great Britain, Book I. ch. ii. sect. 1.

(⁶⁵) Ibid.

migrated hither, at different periods, from Gaul. The interior and northern parts of Britain were peopled by those whose fathers had been established for centuries in the island. Adventurers from different nations were blended with many of the tribes. Thus the Silures exhibited marks of a Spanish origin, and were, perhaps, the descendants of those who had come over with the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to work the tin-mines of Devonshire and Cornwall. The Brigantes, and some other tribes, are said to have shewn strong marks of a Phrygian derivation.

It is a curious fact, that in a country like Britain, separated only by a very narrow channel, and peopled also in a considerable degree from Gaul, in many parts of which the use of money and of letters had for centuries been known, neither of these great inventions had been rendered generally available. The Druids, although they prohibited the use of letters in their system of education, employed the characters of the Greek alphabet for particular purposes; and pieces of brass and rings of iron supplied the place of money, in particular districts: but nothing like a general application of these wonderful instruments of commerce and civilization appears to have existed in Britain.

The amount of the population of Great Britain, at the time of which I speak, has been very differently estimated by different writers. But the expressions of Cæsar⁶⁶, and the consideration of the large armies that were constantly maintained in various districts, together with other circumstances, induce one to suppose that the inhabitants of the whole island could not have been fewer than 900,000 persons. Various motives have been ascribed to Cæsar for attempting the conquest of Britain. Suetonius⁶⁷ affirms, that he was prin-

(⁶⁶) Cæs. lib. vi. c. 14. & lib. v. c. 12.

Speaking of the maritime parts of Britain, Cæsar says: “*Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia, fere Gallicis consimilia: pecorum magnus numerus.*”

“The country is well peopled, and has plenty of buildings, much after the fashion of those in Gaul. They have infinite store of cattle.”—BLADEN.

Diodorus calls Britain Πολυ-άνθρωπον τῇν νῆσον. Lib. v. c. 21.

(⁶⁷) Sueton. lib. i. D. Jul. Cæs. c. 47.—Cæsar’s own statement is, that he invaded Britain on account of the assistance which the Gauls, in their wars with him, always derived from this country. Lib. iv. c. 20. In the Welch Triads, a very romantic reason is assigned for Cæsar’s invasion. It is there stated, that Cassivelaunus, or, as he is called, Caswallon, was in love with Flur, the daughter of Mugnach, who was forcibly carried away by a Gaulish Chief, in order that she might be presented to Cæsar; that Caswallon, having led an army into Gaul, fought for and recovered
the

cipally allured by the pearls found in our seas, which were falsely reported to be of great size and beauty. But covetousness was not in the list of Cæsar's vices; and it is probable, that the wish to add glory to glory, which ever surmounted his concern for the miseries occasioned by war, was his chief incentive upon this occasion.

This accomplished warrior landed upon our shores near Deal, on a day corresponding to the 26th of August, fifty-five years before the Christian æra. The force which accompanied him was not sufficient for the undertaking, consisting only of the infantry of two legions, the cavalry not being able to embark at the same time⁶⁸. The resistance which Cæsar experienced from the Britons was such as he ought to have expected from the character of the people:—it was fierce and stubborn. The superior discipline of his own army, and the dissensions among the British leaders, enabled him, indeed, to

B.C.
55.

the maiden; and that it was the appearance of this army on the Continent which induced Cæsar to invade Britain.

(⁶⁸) Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 18, 19, 20, 21.—Philos. Transact. No. 193. The legion, in the time of Cæsar, amounted to 6000 men, of which 400 were cavalry. The whole force of Cæsar, as his cavalry never joined him, amounted to about 11,200 infantry.

defeat them upon several occasions ; but his progress was continually harassed, and his force diminished by skirmishes with the natives ; so that the result of his expedition was any thing rather than the conquest of Britain. Although he did all that a great and wise commander could, in such a situation, accomplish, he quitted the country in the short space of three weeks, without adding any thing to the power of Rome, or much to his own reputation⁶⁹.

Experience had now taught Cæsar that a much more numerous force would be necessary, to enable him to make any decided or permanent impression upon Britain. Accordingly, after very great preparation, he assembled, in the spring of the following year, an army of five entire legions, at Portus Iccius (now Calais), in Gaul, whence he sailed for our shores.

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The Britons, suspending for a while their international hostilities, united to meet the common

(⁶⁹) The haste with which Cæsar abandoned Britain has generally been advanced in proof of his inability to maintain his position in the island. It should however be recollected, that during this expedition an insurrection had arisen in Gaul, which seemed to require his own immediate presence and that of his whole army.—*De Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. c. 36.

enemy, and appointed Cassivelaunus, Prince of the Cassi, to command their armies. This leader seems to have exerted himself with great patriotism, courage, and ability; but he had many enemies among the British Chiefs; and not receiving adequate or cordial support, was obliged to make terms with Cæsar, and to accept the conditions which the Roman conqueror imposed. The Chiefs of some other formidable tribes followed his example; and Cæsar, after receiving hostages and imposing a tribute, the nature and amount of which he does not specify, again abandoned Britain.

Candour and accuracy are generally allowed to have been among the virtues of Julius Cæsar, so that the account which he has given of these expeditions may generally be relied on. Still, we must suppose that his narration of the success of his arms is quite as favourable to himself as truth would warrant; and from his own words we must infer that he found it necessary to leave the country without establishing in it a single garrison, and without being able to enforce the payment of any tribute commensurate with the vast loss of men and treasure which he had sustained by the expedition. Scenes of even greater interest and importance afterwards absorbed the attention of Cæsar, and

prevented him from ever again turning his arms against Britain.

The bond of common interest, which during the invasion of Julius Cæsar had for some time united many of the British leaders, was severed by the departure of the enemy, and the country soon again exhibited scenes of mutual warfare and depredation among its tribes. At this time, Cassivelaunus, or, as he is more properly called by some writers, Cassibelinus⁷⁰, seems to have maintained an extent of power and territory superior to most of the British kings. His own possessions originally comprised that portion of the island which is now divided into the counties of Hertford, Bedford, and Buckingham, together, as Horsley supposes, with parts of Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire. To these he added, by conquest, part of the territory of the Trinobantes, who occupied that tract which

(⁷⁰) Camden, happily I think, conjectures that this word should be rendered *Cassibelinus*, inasmuch as it may be compounded of “Cassi,” the people over whom this prince reigned, and “Belinus,” one of the principal British idols. Similarly, he thinks, Cunobelinus may be compounded: *Cuno*, perhaps, signifying “king.” — These names being written differently by various, and even by the same authors, it is not easy to determine their orthography. The authority of coins is not decisive; for both CUNOBELIN and CUNOBELINE may be found upon them.

now composes the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and part of Surrey. Verulamium, which, although then in its infancy, was the most flourishing town in Britain, was the capital and residence of Cassibelinus.

The next prince we read of in British history is Cunobelinus, who appears to have been rich and powerful. He reigned originally over the Trinobantes, and generally resided at Camulodunum⁷¹; but he seems afterwards to have enlarged his dominions, and to have been lord of territories as wide as those which Cassibelinus had possessed. It is probable that Cunobelinus was the grandson of that Imanuentius who was put to death by Cassibelinus; and that he succeeded to the royal authority upon the death of his father, or uncle, Mandrubatius. Although tributary to the Roman Emperors, Cunobelinus appears to have been respected by them. He reigned long in peace and prosperity. Augustus, indeed, made more than one demonstration of crossing over into Britain, in order to reduce the whole island into a Roman province; but

(⁷¹) The situation of this place has given rise to much controversy. I follow Camden and Horsley, who assign it to Maldon. The word seems compounded of *Camulus*, a British idol similar to Mars; and *Dun*, the British word for “hill.”

he was diverted from his purpose by other emergencies, and remained satisfied with receiving certain presents and a considerable tribute from Cunobelinus and other British princes.

The system of forbearance from foreign conquests, which Augustus adopted in the spirit of wisdom, was pursued by Tiberius from a love of indolence and vicious indulgences. Then followed the childish, or rather insane expedition of Caligula against our shores, the trophies of which were shells and pebbles. Meanwhile, Britain had acquired a certain degree of national importance. Commerce and civilization had certainly received a considerable impulse since the invasion of the country by Julius Cæsar. The pieces of brass and the rings of iron, which were before used instead of money, gave place to elegant coins, in gold, silver, and brass, which were struck in great quantities by Cunobelinus, and one or two other British princes. A great proportion of these coins were, indeed, fabricated for the purpose of paying the tribute to the Romans; and I think Camden has shewn, as ingeniously as justly, that the word "TASCIA," and the various representations of cattle, trees, and corn, which we find stamped on this money, were indicative, the first of a tax, and the rest of the woods,

corn-grounds, and pasturages, upon which that tax was levied⁷².

London, Verulamium, and Camulodunum, each of which had been little more than a collection of huts in the midst of woods and surrounded by ditches, were converted into large and populous towns. London in particular, during the time of Augustus and Tiberius, had become the resort of merchants from different parts of Italy and Gaul.

Cunobelinus left several sons—Caractacus, Togodumnus, Adminius; and others, whose names are not mentioned in history. Caractacus was a hero and a patriot: Togodumnus, one of those characters so common in uncivilized ages—brave and impetuous: but Adminius was a traitor. The intentions

(⁷²) A good deal has been written on this subject; and Mr. Pegge, in an elaborate dissertation, has endeavoured to prove that the word which is spelled "TASCIA," "TASCIO," and "TASCE," on different coins, was the name of the Roman mint-master, or moneyer, who was invited over into Britain by Cunobelin. But although it is probable that the coins in question were the work of a Roman artist who came over into Britain, Mr. Pegge's arguments in favour of his hypothesis are not of equal weight with those adduced by Camden on the other side.—See Pegge's "Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin."

of Adminius were, however, more malevolent than effective against his country. Disinherited by his father on account of his vices, he took refuge in the Roman Court; and it was he who instigated Caligula to that enterprise against Britain which cast such ridicule upon the invaders.

Britain had now remained during nearly a hundred years without suffering from the interference of foreigners, except the exaction of a moderate tribute by the Romans; when Claudius Cæsar resolved upon the conquest of the island. He was induced to undertake this important enterprise by the representation of a Britain named Beric, who, having been guilty of seditious practices, endeavoured to bring ruin upon that native land from which he was obliged to fly. An army of four legions, with their cavalry and auxiliaries, amounting to about 50,000 men, was assembled under Aulus Plautius, a general of high reputation. Vespasian, who had already given promise of his future greatness, together with other distinguished characters, sailed under the command of Plautius; and the expedition landed on our shores forty-three years after the birth of our Saviour.

Invasion
under A.
Plautius,
A.D. 43.

If ever the well-known exclamation in Virgil, *En, quo discordia cives perduxit miseros!* can be applied with truth, it was in the case of the Britons. The territories of Cunobelinus⁷³ had been divided among his two eldest sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus; who, although eager to oppose the common enemy, did not act cordially together. Personal jealousies and enmities weakened the union of many other leaders; so that while the Roman soldiers advanced with perfect unity of design, and without opposition, they were enabled to apply their wonderful discipline and superiority of armour and weapons with terrible effect against the British hosts, who at length met them with impetuous but ill-sustained valour. Caractacus was defeated, and Togodumnus slain, in different encounters with the Romans. Caractacus, after doing all that heroic

(⁷³) Matthew of Westminster states that Cunobelin, whom he calls Kimbelin, died A.D. 22; and that he was succeeded by Guiderius, whom Alford supposes to be Togodumnus. But we learn from Suetonius, that Cunobelin was living in the time of Caligula. His words are: "Adminio Cinobellini Britannorum regis filio, qui pulsus a patre cum exigua manu transfugerat, in "deditionem recepto." Lib. iv. c. 44.

"Adminius, the son of Cunobelinus king of Britain, who being "banished by his father had fled to him with a small party, was "received into his protection."

patriotism could accomplish, was obliged to fly from his paternal dominions. His conduct and valour were, however, so celebrated, that he was summoned by the Silures—who occupied the provinces now known as those of Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecknock, and Glamorgan—to head the confederacy which had been formed in that part of the country against the common enemy.

The Emperor Claudius was now invited over to Britain, in order that he might nominally take part in the glories of his general. He came ; and the progress of this dullest of Roman Emperors was more rapid and triumphant than that of the energetic Julius had formerly been. But, notwithstanding the success of the Roman arms under Plautius and Vespasian, the war with the Britons was still in its infancy. Plautius was recalled in the year 47 ; and after an interval of three years, his place was supplied by Ostorius Scapula, a general of Consular dignity. Ostorius found the country in a state of great excitement, which his own measures were not well adapted to allay. Many of the British tribes who had submitted to the Romans were dissatisfied with their allies : some others of these submissive tribes had been plundered by their indignant

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countrymen. The Iceni⁷⁴ had been among the first to enter into alliance with the Romans, and had remained, for a length of time, steadfast to their engagements. The Cor-Iceni, or Coritani⁷⁵, followed the example of the Iceni, as did also the Cornavii⁷⁶. Disgusted, however, by the arbitrary conduct of Ostorius, who required them to deliver up their arms, the Iceni, and the other nations I have mentioned, resisted his authority; and it was not until after they had been defeated in many severe battles that they were reduced to obedience. We shall find this people, after suffering the most flagrant provocation, again breaking out into hostilities, with such violence and effect as to threaten the very existence of the Roman power in Britain.

The greatest resistance which Ostorius Scapula experienced was from the Silures. And here I

(⁷⁴) They possessed the districts of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge-shire, and Huntingdonshire.

(⁷⁵) They were seated in the counties of Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby.

(⁷⁶) They inhabited Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and Cheshire.

trust I may be permitted to devote a few pages to the efforts of a hero, called forth, not by the love of conquest, but by his afflicted and oppressed country. If Greece exulted in the name of Leonidas, and Rome in that of Regulus, surely we may be allowed, as Britons, to regard with admiration the patriotism of Caractacus.—The Christian Religion is not, I think, opposed to such feelings. It prefers, indeed, the meek and gentle virtues to all the dazzling qualities which attract the world. It condemns the disregard of human happiness and human life, with which the conqueror must be so often charged; but it allows us to take up arms in defence of our country. Neither the soldiers who asked advice of John the Baptist, nor the Centurion who came to Christ, were directed to forsake their calling.

Caractacus was born about the beginning of the Christian æra. He probably received the best education which the times afforded, at the hands of the Druids, from whom he must have acquired the principles of that eloquence in which he so much excelled. In those times, the right of succession to the royal authority usually, although not always, followed the direct line of succession. Many parts of Britain were subject to what was called the Law

of Tanistry⁷⁷. By this law, the eldest son of the reigning prince, or the bravest and most accomplished of his nearest relations, was, under the name of Tanist, nominated his successor. This was probably the case with two of the sons of Cunobelinus, each of whom was appointed Tanist to a portion of his father's dominions. The country of the Dobuni, who were seated in the districts of Oxford and Gloucester, was assigned to Togodumnus; that of the Trinobantes and the Cattivellauni, to Caractacus. The other sons appear to have been excluded from the succession; and hence, probably, the disaffection of Adminius.

I have stated that Caractacus had been defeated by the Romans, soon after the invasion of the latter; that he had been forced to fly from his paternal dominions; and that he had been placed at the head of a confederacy of Native Princes, formed in the country of the Silures. After conducting those forces for several years, with various success, Caractacus was induced to transfer the seat of war into the country of the Ordovices, who inhabited North

(⁷⁷) The reader will find some ingenious and learned observations on this subject in Whitaker's *Manchester*, Book i. c. 8. p. 251.

Wales, and thence into that district now known as Shropshire. Here he was followed by Ostorius Scapula. There is a hill called *Caer Caradoc*, close to the confluence of the rivers *Clune* and *Teme*, which exactly corresponds with the place described by *Tacitus*⁷⁸ as the scene of the battle which ensued. *Caer Caradoc* had probably been the royal seat and stronghold of some of the British Princes from immemorial time, and had received great additions, as to strength, by *Caractacus*, upon the present occasion. It was situated on the ridge of a steep mountain. In some places, where the sides were accessible, *Caractacus* had fortified it with massy stones, heaped together in the form of a rampart. At the foot of the mountain flowed a river, with fords and hollows of uncertain depth; and a body of the bravest men in the British army guarded the entrenchments. Upon the approach of the enemy, the leaders of the various tribes exerted themselves in stimulating to the utmost degree the ardent courage of their followers: Pre-eminent among them, *Caractacus* was seen flying from rank to rank, and appealing to all those strong passions by which men are instigated in the

(⁷⁸) *Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 33.*

hour of battle. He conjured them to recollect, that that was the day, and that the battle, from which they must date the recovery of their liberty, or the establishment of eternal slavery. He invoked the shades of those ancestors by whom the mighty Cæsar had been driven from their shores, and by whose valour themselves had hitherto been preserved from Roman axes and Roman tribute, and their wives and children from pollution. As he pronounced these and such like incitements, the multitude around him uttered a tremendous shout; and each man bound himself, by the most solemn and sacred oaths, never to yield, either through wounds or weapons⁷⁹.

But the Britons had to contend against those who, with equal valour, combined discipline, and arms and armour of a very superior description. The bows and arrows and darts of the Britons could not be compared with the swords and javelins of the legionaries, or with the pikes and sabres of the auxiliaries. The bodies of the Britons were almost wholly unprotected, whilst their adversaries fought in coats of mail. Under such unequal cir-

(⁷⁹) Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xii. c. 34.

cumstances, victory was not long in deciding for the Romans. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were captured on the field of battle : his brethren afterwards surrendered themselves to the victors. Caractacus himself fled for refuge to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes. But there are hearts callous alike to the affections of kindred and to those of country : such was that of the chieftain's step-mother. And if the feelings of the patriot glow within us at the name of Caractacus, they must burn with indignation at that of Cartismandua. The hero, who for nine years had withstood the efforts of the Roman armies, now found that the bitterest of his foes were those of his own household. He was delivered up in chains by Cartismandua to the conqueror, and sent, together with his wife, children, and brothers, as prisoners to Rome. But his fame had gone before him ; and the victors of the greatest nations of the world were eager to behold the inhabitant of a remote and barbarous country who so long had defied their power.

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The Emperor, anxious to render his own entry into Rome as impressive as possible, exhibited Caractacus as the principal object of his triumph. The multitude flocked to behold the spectacle.

The golden chains, the military accoutrements, and other spoils which Caractacus had gained in battle, were displayed with pomp. His followers, his brothers, his wife, and children, were paraded in the procession: Caractacus closed the train. His deportment was worthy of his reputation. While the other prisoners, struck with terror, descended to abject supplications, the British chieftain moved on, with firm step and unaltered countenance, to the place where Claudius was seated on his tribunal. He there stopped, and thus addressed the Emperor⁸⁰:—"Had the measure of my success been
 " answerable to the dignity of my birth and to the
 " greatness of my possessions, I had now entered
 " this city, not as a prisoner, but as a friend: nor
 " would you have disdained an alliance with one
 " sprung, like myself, from illustrious ancestors,
 " and the ruler over many nations. My present

(⁸⁰) "At non Caractacus, aut vultu demisso, aut verbis miseriam cordiam requirens, ubi tribunali adstitit, in hunc modum locutus est."—TACIT. *Annal.* lib. xii. c. 36.

"Caractacus alone was superior to misfortune. With a countenance still unaltered, not a symptom of fear appearing, no sorrow, no condescension, he behaved with dignity even in ruin. Being placed before the tribunal, he delivered himself in the following manner."—MURPHY.

“ condition is as glorious to you as it is humiliating
 “ to myself. But yesterday, and I possessed men,
 “ horses, arms, and riches. Can you wonder that I
 “ did not tamely surrender them? If you Romans
 “ aspire to universal dominion, does it follow that
 “ all men must willingly become your slaves?
 “ Had I submitted to you without a struggle,
 “ neither my own fall nor your successes would have
 “ been so illustrious. And now, should you resolve
 “ to put me to death, my story will soon be for-
 “ gotten. Preserve me, and my name shall live
 “ an eternal instance of your clemency⁸¹.”

Dull as the feelings of Claudius usually were, he
 was not wanting in generosity upon the present
 occasion. He pardoned Caractacus and his family,
 and commanded that their chains should instantly
 be taken off.

The Romans were not yet satisfied with these

(81) Tacit. lib. xii. cap. 37.—Zonaras tells us that Caractacus,
 having seen the size and splendour of Rome, expressed himself
 thus: “Can ye, Romans, the possessors of all this magnificence,
 “ covet our British hovels?”

“Εἶτα, ἔφη, ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κεκτημένοι, τῶν σκηριδίων
 ἡμῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε;”—*Annal.* tom. II.

triumphant demonstrations of their victories in Britain. The Senate was summoned together, and many ostentatious speeches delivered relative to the capture of Caractacus. That event was said to be no less illustrious than when Syphax was taken by Publius Scipio, Perses by Lucius Paulus, or any other vanquished kings by the greatest of their generals. In token of the high sense they entertained of his achievements, the triumphal ornaments were decreed to Ostorius.

But whatever resistance to the invaders was made by Caractacus and some other warlike princes, a great part of Britain—that especially which was inhabited by the tribes who had come more recently from Gaul—not only submitted to the Romans, but became their strenuous allies. Such was the conduct of the Dobuni or Boduni, who inhabited Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. This people had been so oppressed by their ambitious neighbours, the Cattivellauni, that they readily submitted themselves to the Romans; who were so satisfied of the allegiance of their king, Cogidunus, that they not only permitted him to retain his paternal dominions, but added to them those of the Regni, who occupied Surrey and Sussex. It is supposed that this augmented territory remained

under the rule of Cogidunus, and his posterity, during many generations⁸².

Classical history is silent as to the subsequent transactions in the life of Caractacus: but a strong tradition has been preserved in Wales, forming the

(⁸²) “Cogi-dunus, or Cogi-dubnus, appears undeniably, from his name, to have been originally the Cogi or King of the Dobuni; and, from the additional appellation of *Rex* or ‘King’ which is given him by Tacitus, appears equally to have retained the same sovereignty under the Romans. Nor was this all. He was even invested by the Romans with the sovereignty of some other States, which had probably lost the line of their Princes in the prosecution of the war, and which were now subjected to the sceptre of the Dobuni. One of these was, undoubtedly, the Regni of Sussex and Surrey; and the rest must have been the nations that lay betwixt the Dobuni and them, the two intervening tribes of the *Attrebates* and the *Bibroces*. And this extended sovereignty, over a part of Warwickshire, over a considerable portion of Buckinghamshire, over nearly all Berkshire, absolutely over all Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Surrey, and Sussex, Cogidubnus retained to the days of Trajan; when not only these counties in particular, but when the whole extent of England and Wales had been long moulded into the form of a province. This was allowed in the first and second centuries, and at the first modelling of the Roman conquests among us. And thus allowed at first, the British sovereigns must have equally continued through all the period of the Roman government afterwards.” — WHITTAKER’S *History of Manchester*, Book i. c. 8. pp. 248, 249.

subject of some of the Triads of that country, relative to the chieftain's father, who is called Bran. This personage, according to these Triads, was detained seven years as a hostage in Rome, where he became a Christian. Afterwards, upon his return to Britain, he is said to have converted many of his countrymen. Now, although this tradition cannot be received in all its parts—inasmuch as Tacitus, who specifies the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus, makes no mention of his father, who, indeed, was no other than Cunobelinus, and died, as we have seen, anterior to the Roman invasion—still it is not at all improbable, that, among the captives who accompanied Caractacus to Rome, some even of his own family might have embraced the Christian Religion, and that afterwards they might have become the happy instruments of bringing many of their brethren in Britain out of heathen darkness to serve the Living God. Nor is it absolutely impossible that the great Apostle of the Gentiles, during the term of his first imprisonment at Rome, should have become acquainted with some of these captives, and that, through their representation, he might have been induced, when liberated from confinement, to undertake a voyage into Britain.—It shall be my object, in the following chapter, to investigate this question.

CHAPTER II.

THE QUESTION EXAMINED, FROM THE SCRIPTURES, THE FATHERS, AND OTHER ANCIENT WRITERS, WHETHER ST. PAUL EVER VISITED BRITAIN?—WHETHER SIMON ZELOTES, ST. PETER, JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA, OR ARISTOBULUS, EVER DID SO?—PETER DE MARCA'S OPINIONS, RESPECTING THE FOUNDATION OF THE GALRICAN CHURCHES, CONSIDERED—STATE OF THE CHURCH AFTER THE ASCENSION OF JESUS CHRIST—COURSE ADOPTED BY THE APOSTLES WITH REGARD TO THE CONVERSION OF HEATHEN NATIONS—POMPONIA GRÆCINA, AND OTHERS, WHO MIGHT HAVE BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN CONVERTING THE BRITONS — A REMARKABLE PASSAGE IN GILDAS CONSIDERED—PROBABLE PERIOD AT WHICH CHRISTIANITY WAS INTRODUCED INTO BRITAIN—NATURE OF THE FIRST PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP—RETROSPECT OF MILITARY TRANSACTIONS: BOADICEA — AGRICOLA; HADRIAN; ANTONINUS PIUS; MARCUS AURELIUS—CHURCH OF LYONS.—IRENÆUS.

THE notion that St. Paul actually visited Britain, is so extremely interesting, and has been countenanced by so many writers, that it becomes necessary to ascertain whether it is grounded upon any foundation stronger than mere conjecture. Let us examine, then, those records in which we might expect to find some mention of, or allusion to, this journey of the Apostle, supposing that it ever took place. First, then, let us turn to the Books of the New

Testament. Here, it must be admitted that no mention of, no allusion whatever to such an expedition, can any where be found. This circumstance, however, is not entirely conclusive against the fact ; because we know that the Scriptures do not purport to be a record of all the events which took place during the times to which they relate. With respect to Our Saviour, St. John informs us that his actions were too numerous to be all recorded in the Gospels. The remark applies to the Acts of the Apostles, relative to what was said and done by the eminent followers of Jesus Christ. A great deal was recorded, but a great deal also was necessarily omitted. Thus, whilst we learn so many particulars of the Ministry of St. Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, we are not there told that he had been five times scourged by the Jews ; that he had been twice beaten with rods ; and thrice shipwrecked. These facts we collect from the incidental mention of them in the Epistles. Many other transactions must have been left unrecorded ; and will probably never be known, until that Great Day, when they shall be found registered in the Book of Judgment.

Moreover, when we consider the period at which the voyage of St. Paul into Britain could only have

taken place, we shall find that the allusion to such an expedition must necessarily be restricted to a very small portion of the Scriptures. That portion consists of such sacred writings as were either composed subsequently, or a little anterior, to the close of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, which are the following:—the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Hebrews; together with those to Philemon, Timotheus, and Titus, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Epistles and Revelation of St. John. Let us examine these separately. The Second Epistle of St. Peter is addressed, like the First, “To the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia”; persons who had never heard of Britain, and therefore persons to whom any mention of St. Paul's visit to that country would have been unprofitable and unwise. The First Epistle of St. John is a Treatise, rather than a Letter; referring to no secular transactions, and mentioning no contemporary names. The Second Epistle of St. John consists but of thirteen, and his Third Epistle but of fourteen verses. The Epistle of St. Jude consists only of twenty verses. The Book of Revelation was written by St. John, nearly thirty years after the martyrdom of St. Paul; and, like his Epistles, relates not in the slightest degree

to any of the writings or actions of the latter Apostle.

From this sketch, we may perceive that the absence of the notice of such an event in the writings I have mentioned forms no argument against the probability of St. Paul's visit to Britain. The fact is otherwise with regard to the latter writings of St. Paul.

There is a difference of opinion among learned men as to the dates of the years of St. Paul's two imprisonments, and of his death. Some writers suppose that eight or ten years elapsed between his last liberation from confinement and his death; while others narrow the interval to a period of three or four years. After very careful inquiry, the latter opinion is now almost universally adopted. It seems most probable that St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome terminated in the year 64. Just before this time, and in the course of the same year, he wrote his Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians¹, Colossians, and to Philemon²; in the three last of

(¹) "But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly."—*Philip*. ii. 24.

(²) To Philemon, who is supposed to have been an inhabitant
of

which he expresses his intention of speedily visiting the places to which his Letters were addressed. Towards the middle of the year 64 the Apostle left Rome ; not, however, with the intention of crossing into Spain, and still less so of visiting Britain ; because these were such very important expeditions, that had he purposed undertaking them, I think we should certainly find some intimations of his views in the Epistles before referred to. He seems to have gone, in the first instance, to some other part of Italy ; perhaps to Puteoli, at which place, on his journey to Rome, he had found some Christians, and where he had remained a week. Here, probably, Timotheus came to him, by whose hands he despatched his Epistle to the Hebrews³. In that epistle, while an intention is expressed of visiting Judæa, nothing is said respecting a voyage to Spain or Britain⁴. From this part of Italy it is supposed that the Apostle sailed to Crete, where he established Titus in the bishopric of the island, and

of Colosse, he says : “ But, withal, prepare me also a lodging : “ for I trust that, through your prayers, I shall be given unto “ you.”—*Philemon*, ver. 22.

(³) In the subscription, we are told that this epistle was “ written to the Hebrews from Italy, by Timothy.”

(⁴) Heb. xiii. 23.

where perhaps he passed the winter⁵. Early in the year 65 he probably visited Corinth and Philippi⁶, at which last place he had expressed his wish to spend some time. After sojourning in other cities of Greece, he arrived at Nicopolis in Epirus towards the end of the autumn of the year 65, and thence addressed his Epistle to Titus⁷. In Nicopolis he passed the winter⁸. In the beginning of the year 66 he probably visited Judæa, and afterwards Troas; at which last place he left, as he tells us, the cloak with Carpus, together with his books and parchments⁹.

From Troas he proceeded, I think, to Colosse, and thence to the neighbouring city of Laodicea; from which last place, as the subscription¹⁰ tells us,

(⁵) “For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest
“set in order the things that are wanting; and ordain elders in
“every city, as I had appointed thee.”—*Titus* i. 5.

(⁶) “And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and
“continue with you all, for your furtherance and joy of faith.”—*Philip*. i. 25.

(⁷) The subscription to the Epistle to Titus tells us that it was written from Nicopolis of *Macedonia*; but as there was no such city in Macedonia, most writers think that Nicopolis of *Epirus* is the correct reading.

(⁸) *Titus* iii. 12.

(⁹) *2 Tim.* iv. 13.

(¹⁰) Several of the subscriptions to St. Paul's Epistles are so
erroneous,

he addressed his First Epistle to Timotheus. From Laodicea the Apostle proceeded to Miletus; in which city he left Trophimus sick¹¹, and departed himself on his final journey to Rome. It is not probable that the Apostle visited Ephesus upon this occasion, or indeed at all, after his first imprisonment at Rome. I know that some writers have supposed that the fact was otherwise, from an expression to Timotheus in his First Epistle: "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia¹²." But surely such a request might have been conveyed to Timotheus by a message from the Apostle from Crete or Corinth. I think, moreover, that the very solemn expression used by St. Paul some years before at Miletus, "I know that ye shall see my face no more¹³," renders it improbable that he should again have visited Ephesus.

The immediate object of St. Paul's second and last journey to Rome is not known. But as the

erroneous, that it is desirable that they should be omitted altogether, or so explained as not to mislead the reader. The greater part of them were probably written by Theodoret.

(¹¹) 2 Tim. iv. 20.

(¹²) 1 Tim. i. 3.

(¹³) Acts xx. 25.

persecution under Nero had for a time abated, he might naturally desire to visit a city in which he had many converts—a city which offered so wide a field for his Christian labours, and where the circumstances of the infant Church might particularly require his presence. He might also wish to converse with St. Peter, who is supposed to have arrived at Rome a little before this period. Nero was at this time absent from his capital; but had delegated his authority to Helius, a wretch who too nearly resembled his master. The persecution of the Christians was, upon the return of Nero, renewed with greater violence than at first. St. Paul, who had been apprehended, and probably consigned to the Mamertine prison, was now subjected to severer confinement than upon the former occasion. It was at this time that he addressed his Second Epistle to Timotheus, his last production. No one can read this sublime composition without being struck by the impossibility that its author was any thing but what he professed to be—the faithful follower and Apostle of Jesus Christ, who regarded life only as the means of promoting the glory of God and the salvation of man. The prospect of certain death was before him; but instead of being dismayed, he calls upon his dearest friend to adopt the same uncompromising course, although it should

lead him to the same catastrophe:—“ Watch thou,
“ in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an
“ evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry. For
“ I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my
“ departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight,
“ I have finished my course, I have kept the faith:
“ henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of
“ righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous
“ Judge, shall give me at that day¹⁴.” Very dull, or
very obdurate, must that heart be, which can resist
such a testimony to the truth of Christianity!

Although a difference of opinion exists on the subject, it is most probable that St. Paul suffered martyrdom in the year 67, the last year of the monster Nero. The only argument which will reconcile the probability of St. Paul's visit to Britain with the total want of allusion to it in his Epistles, is the assumption, that the received chronology with respect to the Apostle's first imprisonment at Rome, and the dates of certain of his Epistles, are erroneous. If we suppose, with some writers, that St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome took place in the year 57 or 58, and that the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, in common with the rest of his Epistles,

(¹⁴) 2 Tim. iv. 5—8.

were written prior to the close of that imprisonment, we can at once account for the silence of the Apostle relative to a voyage which he had not then contemplated, and we shall be able to allow ample time for so arduous an undertaking. But such an alternative is attended with numerous difficulties; and is opposed to the internal evidence afforded by the Epistles, as to the times in which they were written, and to the arrangement adopted by Eusebius, Theodoret, and others of the most judicious among ancient and modern writers.

I own that I have never been able to understand the wisdom or propriety of representing St. Paul as flying about from place to place, with the rapidity of lightning, for the purpose of making converts. That the Apostle combined astonishing energy and activity with his other extraordinary powers—that in the execution of his evangelical commission he shrunk from no difficulty, danger, or labour—that he did visit a great number of places—are facts beyond dispute. But he was too prudent a teacher not to know the importance and necessity of abiding sometimes with his converts, in order to enforce, explain, and confirm the Religion which he had been the means of teaching them. In proof of my assertion, I need only refer the reader to the Acts

of the Apostles. We there find it recorded, that St. Paul, upon one occasion, remained a year and six months at Corinth, "teaching the Word of God among them"¹⁵; that he stayed at Ephesus more than two years¹⁶; that himself and Barnabas abode "long time" at Iconium, "speaking boldly in the Lord"¹⁷; and that he repeated his visits to Corinth, Antioch, and many other places; according to his remark to Barnabas, "Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do"¹⁸.

Having argued the question relative to the probability that St. Paul ever visited Britain from a consideration of his own Epistles, let us next examine the writings of those who lived nearest to the age of the Apostles. And here, the First Epistle of Clemens of Rome to the Corinthians demands our attention. The claims which this epistle possesses to be considered as the work of Clemens have been minutely examined, and have satisfied most learned men that it is a genuine production. Clemens was the third Bishop of Rome, and was the person men-

(¹⁵) Acts xviii. 11.

(¹⁶) Ibid. xix. 10.

(¹⁷) Ibid. xiv. 3.

(¹⁸) Ibid. xv. 36.

tioned by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, as one "whose name is in the Book of life." He was intimately acquainted with St. Paul, whom he long survived. Speaking of the various parts of the world which had been visited by the Apostle¹⁹, Clemens says: "Having preached righteousness to the utmost bounds of the West (*ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*), and having suffered martyrdom from Princes, he left this world, and reached the shore of a blessed immortality." Bishop Stillingfleet, Dr. Cave, and many others, have supposed that in the expression *ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* Clemens must necessarily have intended to include Britain. But the expression is far too vague to be distinctly applied to any one country, and, making allowance for the figurative style of an Oriental writer, probably meant no more than that St. Paul preached the Gospel in regions far west of Judæa.

I am not aware that any other writer of the age of the Apostles alludes in the most distant manner to a voyage of St. Paul into Spain or Britain. In the absence of all such allusion in contemporary writings, we must pass over two centuries, and come to the words of Eusebius. This writer, in his

(¹⁹) Clem. Epist. ad Corinth., Epist. i. cap. 5.

Ecclesiastical History, merely says, *τί δει περὶ Παύλου λέγειν, ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος*²⁰;" — "But what necessity is there to speak of Paul, who, having fulfilled his evangelical office from Jerusalem even to Illyricum, at length suffered martyrdom at Rome, under Nero?" In his "Evangelical Demonstration," indeed, after stating that the Romans, Persians, Armenians, Parthians, Indians, and Scythians had the Gospel preached to them, he adds, that some of the Apostolic body passed over the Ocean, *ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους*²¹— "to those which are called the British Islands." But although this proves the belief of Eusebius that Christianity had been very early introduced into Britain, it by no means shews that the historian supposed St. Paul to have been the instrument by whom this was actually accomplished.

St. Jerom, who wrote about the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, says that "St. Paul, having been in Spain, went from one ocean to another, imitating the motion and

(²⁰) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. c. 1.

(²¹) Ibid. Demonst. Evang. lib. iii. c. 7. p. 113.

“ course of the Sun of Righteousness ; of whom it is
 “ said, *His going forth is from the end of heaven,*
 “ *and his circuit unto the ends of it ;* and that his
 “ diligence in preaching extended as far as the earth
 “ itself²².” In another passage, St. Jerom says that
 “ St. Paul, after his imprisonment, preached the
 “ Gospel in the Western parts²³.” But these ex-
 pressions are so indefinite, that no conclusion can
 be drawn from them that St. Paul did indeed come
 into Britain.

The next author whose writings bear at all upon
 the question is Theodoret, Bishop of Cyropolis,
 who lived in the early part of the fifth century.
 He was a man of undoubted erudition, and his
 opinion is entitled to great respect. After men-
 tioning Spain, he says that “ St. Paul preached sal-
 “ vation to the islands that lie in the Ocean²⁴.” And
 in another place, he states that “ St. Paul, after his
 “ release at Rome, went to Spain, and thence car-
 “ ried the light of the Gospel to other nations²⁵.”

(²²) Hieron. in Amos. c. v. tom. iii. col. 1412.

(²³) De Script. Eccles. Hieron. Oper. tom. iv. part. 2. Catalog.
 Script. Eccles. col. 103.

(²⁴) Theodoret. tom. iv. serm. 9. p. 610. Tom. i. in Psal. cxvi.
 p. 870.

(²⁵) Ibid. tom. iii. in 2 Ep. ad Tim. iv. 17.

This is the most decided opinion of any expressed by ancient ecclesiastical writers ; but even this does not enable us, with the least degree of certainty, to claim St. Paul as the Apostle who preached the Gospel in Britain.

We now come to our own historians.—And here we must lament the woeful deficiency of our records. Such, however, as remain, are altogether silent as to any tradition relative to a visit of St. Paul to this island. The Fragments of Gildas, those which are ascribed to Nennius, and Bede's Histories, contain no mention of St. Paul ; nor do I believe that testimony favourable to the supposition of the Apostle's visit can be found in any of our Annalists, prior to the Norman invasion. After that period, truth was so overlaid with fable, the interests and prejudices of the Monkish authors were so interwoven with every thing they related, that the greatest possible caution must be used before we receive their assertions.

Another of the Apostles who is said to have visited Britain, is Simon Zelotes. Bishop Taylor and Dr. Cave are favourable to this opinion ; which they ground, principally, upon the assertions of Nicephorus Callistus, of Dorotheus, and of the

Greek Menologies. Of these statements, that taken from the Menologies is very decided : Ὑστερον δὲ ἐν ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΑ γενόμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φωτίσας, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων σταυρωθεὶς καὶ τεθεὶς θάπτεται ἐκεῖ²⁶ : “ At length, being in Britain, after enlight-
 “ ening many by the word of the Gospel, he was
 “ crucified by the unbelievers; and thus being put
 “ to death, was buried there.” It is, however, necessary to state, that Eusebius, and all other ancient writers, are silent upon this subject; and that the more general belief is, that the labours of St. Simon were confined to parts of Africa and Asia. Archbishop Usher, after stating the reasons assigned for supposing that St. Simon ever came into Britain, adds, “ Nevertheless, in the Roman Martyrology
 “ and Breviary, as also in the Martyrologies of Bede,
 “ Usuard, and Adon, he is said to have suffered
 “ martyrdom, in Persia, on the 28th of October²⁷.”

Cardinal Baronius²⁸, who, like most Roman-Catholic writers, appears to think it a duty upon all occasions to magnify the actions of St. Peter, contends that this Apostle was the first who preached

(²⁶) Men. Gr. ad diem 10 Maii.

(²⁷) Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 4.

(²⁸) Baron. Annal. tom. i. p. 537.

the Gospel and planted a Christian Church in Britain. Nothing, however, can be more improbable than this supposition. The task of preaching the Gospel to those of the circumcision was, in a more peculiar manner, confided to St. Peter; and Eusebius, in speaking of this Apostle, says: “ Ἐν Πόντῳ, καὶ Γαλατίᾳ, καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ, Καππαδοκίᾳ τε, καὶ Ἀσίᾳ, κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν²⁹:” “ He seems to have preached to the Jews that were dispersed in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia.”

The only ancient writer who can be brought forward in support of Baronius's opinion is Simeon Metaphrastes, who says that St. Peter spent twenty-three years at Rome, and in Britain, and in other countries of the West; and particularly, that he continued long in Britain, where he converted many nations, founded many Churches, and ordained Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; and that he afterwards returned to Rome, in the 12th year of Nero³⁰. But Metaphrastes lived not until the tenth century; and his statements, when unsupported by more ancient authorities, are not entitled to belief.

(²⁹) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. c. 1.

(³⁰) Usser. Brit. Ecc. Antiq. p. 4.

Archbishop Usher devotes the whole of a long chapter to the investigation of the question, whether Joseph of Arimathæa, Aristobulus, and others, preached the Gospel in Britain. But here, as well as in other parts of his work, the Primate seems to forget the maxim of Euripides³¹, which himself had quoted with approbation :

— σῶφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας
Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν χρησιμώτερον βροτοῖς.

Nothing to mortal man more safe
Than wise distrust.

Bishop Stillingfleet, Dr. Henry, and others, have so completely exposed these fictions of the Glastonbury Monks, that they cannot require any further refutation. “Nihil hac fabula fabulosius, nihil isto mendacio absurdius³².”

After what has been advanced, the reader will perceive that I am not prepared to contend, with the same warmth as many of the French divines, that a Church was actually founded among us by one of the Apostles ; although we might make the assertion upon ground quite as tenable as that

(³¹) Eurip. in Helen. 1617 &c.

(³²) Apuleii Metamorphos. lib. i.

occupied by our Continental neighbours. Peter de Marca³³, archbishop of Toulouse, not satisfied with the interesting and undoubted facts that those eminent martyrs, Pothinus and Irenæus, were bishops of Lyons in the second century, contends that Trophimus was consecrated Bishop of Arles by St. Peter, and that he was the founder of all the Gallican Churches³⁴. In attempting to prove this, the archbishop labours with as much zeal as if the honour of France depended upon the triumph of his argument. This is surely puerile. In questions where the Scriptures, and all contemporary traditions, are silent, the most that we ought to advance is a modest and reasonable conjecture.

De Marca, moreover, claims St. Luke, St. Philip, and St. Paul, as among the first preachers of the Gospel in his own country: he also lays particular stress upon a supposed mission of Crescens into Gaul. As to St. Philip, he is quite indignant that

(³³) See his Letter to Henry Valois, or Valesius, prefixed to Reading's edition of Eusebius.

(³¹) Gregory of Tours tells us that a bishop of the name of Trophimus was sent, about the middle of the third century, from Rome to Arles. He speaks of him, too, as preaching the Gospel for the first time there; so that the notion of another and earlier Trophimus is perfectly extravagant.

any one should suppose it possible that the Apostle should have come over into Britain for the purpose of converting the natives, while he was negligent of Gaul. As time will not permit me to notice all the assertions of the archbishop, I shall confine myself to his reasoning respecting Crescens; which appears to me little better than that which would represent Aristobulus and Joseph of Arimathæa as the primitive Missionaries of Britain. The whole force of De Marca's reasoning depends upon the assumption that the word *Γαλατία*, in the New Testament, is ever applied to European Gaul. Theodoret is almost the only ancient writer who has advanced such an opinion. But surely if we are to suppose that the Galatia to which St. Paul addressed the Epistle, and which is so repeatedly alluded to as a country of Asia Minor, be not the same Galatia into which Crescens departed, there will be no end to the confusion arising from the names of places. Galatia was a country situated to the north-east of Phrygia, and occupied by a colony of Gauls, from whom it derived its name. Hence Strabo³⁵, speaking of Phrygia, says: Ἦς ἐστὶ μέρος ἥτε τῶν Γαλλο-γραικῶν, λεγομένη Γαλατία: and, again³⁶, Πρὸς νότον τοίνυν, εἰς τοῖς Παφλαγόσι Γαλάται. Hence, also,

(³⁵) Strabo, Geogr. lib. ii.

(³⁶) Ibid. lib. xii.

Tacitus³⁷ mentions Galatarum, Cappadocumque auxilia: and Florus³⁸ says, Gens Gallogræcorum. In later times this Galatia was called by the Greeks Γαλατία ἡ μικρά, to distinguish it from Transalpine Gaul, which they also call Galatia. Hence the historian Socrates, speaking of a certain bishop, says³⁹, Δεόντιος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀγκύρας, τῆς μικρᾶς Γαλατίας. But this qualifying expression was not known to the Apostles; so that we may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that wherever the words Γαλατία, Γαλάται, Γαλατικὴν χώραν, &c. occur in the New Testament, they relate, exclusively, to Galatia in Asia Minor.

In all probability, the Churches of Gaul and Britain were founded about the same period; and although we have no proof that this was done by any of the Apostles, or by Trophimus and Crescens in the one, and Aristobulus and Joseph of Arimathæa in the other, we have reason to believe that Christianity was preached in both countries before the close of the first century⁴⁰.

(³⁷) Annal. lib. xv. cap. 6.

(³⁸) Rerum Rom. Epit. lib. ii. cap. 11.

(³⁹) Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 18.

(⁴⁰) Mr. Palmer derives an ingenious, although not conclusive argument,

Let us next examine the evidence that remains relative to the period when this most important event first took place in Britain. Before we do

argument, that Lyons was the first Christian Church in Gaul, from the writings of Irenæus. "In his work against Heresies," says Mr. Palmer, "amongst other arguments against the Valentinians, who had obtained a footing even in Gaul, he refers to the doctrines or traditions of the Churches founded by the Apostles—such as, Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus—as a sufficient means of proving the falsehood of the Valentinian doctrines*. If there had been any Apostolical Churches in Gaul, at Lyons, Arles, Vienna, or Paris, as has been alleged, Irenæus would not have referred the Valentinians *only* to Rome, and the Eastern Apostolical Churches, but would have directed them to the nearest repositories of Apostolical tradition. His subject required him to mention any such Churches in Gaul, had they been in existence; and yet neither he nor Tertullian, who shortly after used a similar argument†, ever alluded to any Apostolical Church in Gaul."—*Orig. Liturg.* vol. I. sect. 9. p. 149.

In answer to this, it may be said, that the great *Scriptural* eminence of the Churches of Rome, Ephesus, and Smyrna, (particularly of the latter, which gave rise to the Church of Lyons,) would render a reference to their doctrines and traditions much more cogent than to those of any obscure Gallican Churches. The Churches of Arles and Paris were not founded until the middle of the third century; but others probably existed, in the time of Irenæus, in distant parts of Gaul, although no circumstances occurred to bring them prominently before the world.

* Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.

† Tertull. de Præscript. adv. Hæreticos, c. 36.

this, it will, however, be necessary to say a few words respecting the state of the Church immediately after the ascension of Jesus Christ. During our Saviour's abode on earth, the Apostles never fully exercised their commission. Although, upon their election, he sent them forth to preach and to baptize, this seems to have been only a partial and temporary employment. Their ministry appears to have extended no further than Judæa ; and even from this limited sphere of action they soon returned to their private stations, the main power being still administered by their Divine Master. It was not until Jesus was about to leave the world that the Apostles were invested with unlimited and universal authority to execute their office. Then it was that He said unto them, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you"⁴¹. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"⁴². Much, however, was to be done in Judæa before the Apostles considered themselves at liberty to turn to the Gentiles, respecting whom they still retained many national prejudices. These prejudices were not generally and fully removed, even after the revelation made to St. Peter respecting

(⁴¹) John xx. 21.

(⁴²) Mark xvi. 15.

the conversion of Cornelius, nor, indeed, until the first Council was held at Jerusalem.

The first proceeding of the Apostles after the ascension of Jesus Christ was to complete that number which he had originally appointed—to fill that place which had become vacant by the lapse of the traitor Judas. Matthias and Barnabas, both distinguished by their conduct and their faith, being proposed as candidates for this most holy office, the former was by lot, after earnest supplication to God, declared an Apostle. This event occurred a short time previous to the day appointed for the celebration of the feast of Pentecost. When that day arrived, God was pleased to pour out upon the assembled Apostles the promised gift of the Holy Ghost. The consequences of this gift were stupendous indeed! No sooner had the Apostles received it, than their former mistaken notions, respecting the temporality of Christ's kingdom, were removed, their fear converted into the most undaunted resolution, and their backwardness into the most ardent zeal. External powers were also added to these inward assistances. The gift of tongues, so necessary to the first propagation of the Gospel, and so striking an evidence of its truth, now displayed itself in the utterance of the Apostles, to the edifi-

cation of most of their hearers, and to the astonishment of all. On that memorable day, 3000 souls were added to the Faith. This was the first establishment of the Christian Church, the forms of which appear in the four following particulars : 1st, In admission by baptism alone. 2dly, In steadfast continuance in the communion of the Apostles, and those appointed by the Apostles ; and in the sacred doctrines which they taught. 3dly, In the frequent celebration of the Eucharist, called *Breaking of Bread*. And, 4thly, In the observance of Prayer and Congregational Worship. The Church of Jerusalem, the venerable parent of many others, was in this manner established. The Church of Antioch was probably the next in point of time and importance.

I have said, that it was not until the decision of the Council at Jerusalem that the Apostles considered themselves as fully authorised in extending the privileges of the Gospel to the whole Gentile world. Thenceforward they knew that the partition-wall was effectually broken down—that a way was open unto all countries—that their “sound was “to go forth into all the earth, and their words “unto the end of the world.”

Some ancient writers have supposed that the

Apostles, for the more effectual discharge of their great commission, divided the world, as it was then known, into distinct portions, to which they more immediately devoted their individual care and attention. Thus it is said that Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c., were assigned to St. Peter; Asia to St. John; Scythia to St. Andrew, &c. Although we know that the Apostles did not absolutely restrict themselves to such provinces, but repeatedly made visits into other quarters, we have reason to believe that some such allotment did take place; and that St. James resided more particularly at Jerusalem, St. John at Ephesus, St. Philip at Hierapolis. From these, and similar places, the Apostles were able to command a more extensive prospect of the neighbouring countries, and to provide more exactly for their spiritual wants. Hence it was that these and other places acquired the title of *Apostolical Churches*, inasmuch as they were said to have been founded by some of the Apostles. Hence Tertullian calls them *Mother-Churches*, and the *Originals of the Faith*, because in them the Christian doctrine was first sown and propagated to the surrounding countries⁴³:—"Ecclesias apud unam-

(⁴³) Tertull. de Præscript. adv. Hæreticos, c. 20. — "They constituted Churches in every city; from whom the other Churches derived their first principles and seeds of doctrine."—BETTY.

“quamque civitatem condiderunt; a quibus tra-
 “ducem fidei et semina doctrinæ, ceteræ exinde
 “Ecclesiæ mutuatae sunt.”

There can be no doubt that the Apostles now frequently consulted as to the best mode of carrying into effect the intentions of their Divine Master with respect to the conversion of the Heathen. Although assured that their efforts would be sustained and strengthened by supernatural aid, they knew that they ought not to neglect any proper human means, and that they were not to depend upon miraculous assistance, wherever ordinary methods were sufficient. In pursuance of such views, they would, doubtless, select such persons as they deemed best qualified for the charge of converting particular nations⁴⁴. They frequently made choice of the first-fruits of the Gentile converts, on account of their great zeal, to propagate the Christian Religion. With respect to Britain, which had now become a place of considerable interest, there must have been several natives of our island at Rome during the time that

(⁴⁴) Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, says that the Apostles, in all the cities and countries in which they preached, ordained their first converts, Bishops and Deacons, for the conversion of others; and that they did this by the direction of the Holy Ghost.

St. Peter and St. Paul were resident in that city ; and those Apostles would naturally wish to confide to such natives, if properly qualified to undertake it, the work of converting their countrymen. Some persons of consideration at Rome might also wish to promote the same holy cause. Bishop Stillingfleet, and other writers, have supposed, with great probability, that among the converts to Christianity then living at Rome there was one whose rank in life would enable her to exercise considerable influence over her contemporaries :—I allude to Pomponia Græcina. This lady was the wife of Aulus Plautius, the first Governor of a Roman province in Britain, and the General whose arms had so much contributed to the conquest of the island.

The following is the account which Tacitus gives us of this person :—“ Pomponia Græcina, an illustrious lady, the wife of Aulus Plautius (who, upon his return from Britain, had been honoured with an ovation), being accused of having embraced a foreign superstition, her trial was committed to her husband. He, according to the ancient institutions of Rome, having made solemn inquiry, in the presence of her relations, respecting any charges affecting her life and reputation, pronounced her innocent. After this, Pomponia’s

“ life was protracted through a long course of melancholy years⁴⁵.” It is believed that what Tacitus here describes as a foreign superstition was Christianity, which Pomponia had embraced: for there is little doubt, that had the historian given us a description of the primitive Christians, he would have painted them in the same colours: he would have described their religion as superstitious, and their absence from the spectacles and festivities of Rome as a life of perpetual sadness. As this lady had probably spent several years with her husband in Britain, she could not but feel a lively interest in the welfare of that country; and as she survived until the year 83, she would have many opportunities of promoting it. At the time St. Paul was a prisoner in Rome, Pomponia Græcina must have been living in that capital; and although she is not mentioned in the Epistles or in the Acts, we may reasonably conclude that she was no stranger to the doctrines taught by the Apostle. If actuated by Christian zeal, she must have considered the knowledge of Christianity as the most important benefit that could be conferred upon a nation; and would naturally exert herself to extend it among the Britons.

(⁴⁵) Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xiii. c. 32.

But there was another female then resident in Rome, who, we may well suppose, was connected with the extension of Christianity in Britain;— I mean, the Claudia Rufina spoken of by Martial in the following lines:—

“ Claudia cœruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis

“ Edita, cur Latiae pectora gentis habet ?

“ Quale decus formæ ! Romanam credere matres

“ Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam⁴⁶.”

Claudia, of azure-painted Britons born,

What Latian wit and Latian grace adorn !

Such forms might Rome among her daughters place,

And Attic matrons deem of Attic race.

From these expressions, it is probable that this Claudia was not a native of Britain, but the daughter of British parents who were then living as hostages at Rome. From another epigram of Martial it appears that the same Claudia was married to a person of the name of Pudens :

“ Claudia, Rufe, meo nupsit peregrina Pudenti :

“ Macte esto tædis o Hymenæe tuis⁴⁷ ! &c.

O Rufus ! Pudens, whom I own my friend,

Has ta'en the foreign Claudia for his wife.

Propitious Hymen, light thy torch, and send

Long years of bliss to their united life !

(⁴⁶) Martial. lib. xi. Epigr. 54.

(⁴⁷) Ibid. lib. iv. Epigr. 13.

We learn, also, from some other lines of this author, that Pudens was one who constrained the Poet to correct any verses which he deemed too licentious :

“ Cogis me, calamo manuque nostra,
 “ Emendare meos, Pudens, libellos.”⁴⁸

Pudens, at thy request again
 O how can I refuse
 To take up my correcting pen,
 And check my erring Muse ?

From the same Poet we may infer that the father-in-law of Pudens was a man of even more serious character than himself :

“ Commendare meas instanti, Rufe, camœnas
 “ Parce precor socero ; seria forsân amat.”⁴⁹

Forbear, good Rufus, to commend
 My verses to your urgent friend :
 A graver strain your father might approve,
 As what his graver feelings love.

Under these circumstances we may, I think, identify this Pudens and this Claudia with the persons of those names mentioned by St. Paul in his Second Epistle to Timothy :—“ Eubulus greeteth

(⁴⁸) Martial. lib. vii. Epigr. 10.

(⁴⁹) Ibid. Epigr. 66.

“ thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all
 “ the Brethren⁵⁰.” Of Eubulus we know nothing ;
 although he is supposed, by some writers, to have
 been the father of Claudia. Linus, according to
 Eusebius, was the person who became the first
 Bishop of Rome after the death of St. Peter. At the
 time St. Paul wrote the Epistle which I have just
 referred to, Martial was between thirty and forty
 years of age, and might well have been ac-
 quainted with the two individuals mentioned
 in the same sentence with Eubulus and Linus.

A.D.
67.

Having thus spoken of some of those persons—
 and many such must have lived—by whose instru-
 mentality the light of Christianity might have been
 first imparted to Britain, let us now examine what
 can be found on the subject in our own records.
 These records, as I have said, are lamentably
 deficient. It is believed that during the persecu-
 tion of the Christians, under Diocletian, a search
 was made, for the purpose of destruction, after
 every thing that might perpetuate the memory of
 Christian men and Christian transactions ; and we
 know that, 200 years afterwards, the Saxons did
 all they could to extirpate the customs, the reli-

(⁵⁰) 2 Tim. iv. 21.

gion, the language, and the very name of the Britons. Under these circumstances, whatever might have been the number of our native annalists, we have now only one authority to which we can appeal; and that one did not exist until the name of Briton was beginning to merge in that of Saxon—I allude to Gildas. This author, of whom I shall speak more particularly⁵¹ hereafter, is supposed to have written the Tracts called his History and Epistle, during some part of the sixth century. In these pieces, Gildas laments the want of any domestic sources of information; and says, that if any such ever existed, they must either have been burned by the Saxons, or carried away by his fugitive countrymen into other countries; so that he was compelled to collect what he could from foreign writers, without being able to arrange them into any thing like a continued series. After making some observations upon the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and the subsequent conquest of Britain under Claudius—after remarking particularly upon the revolt of Boadicea, and the dreadful calamities that ensued to Romans as well as Britons, Gildas proceeds to say:—“*Intereà, glaciali frigore*
“*rigenti insulæ, et veluti longiore terrarum recessu,*

(⁵¹) See Chap. XI.

“ soli visibili non proximæ verus ille non de firma-
 “ mento solùm (*l. sol*) temporali, sed de summa
 “ etiam cœlorum arce tempora cuncta excedente
 “ universo orbi præfulgidum sui coruscum ostendens
 “ tempore (ut scimus) summo Tiberii Cæsaris (quo
 “ absque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur reli-
 “ gio comminata⁵², Senatu nolente, à principe morte

(⁵²) Gildas, probably, stated this circumstance upon the authority of Eusebius, who himself derived it from the following passage of Tertullian :—

“ Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum
 “ introïvit, annuntiata sibi ex Syriâ Palestinâ, quæ illic veritatem
 “ illius divinitatis revelaverant, detulit ad Senatum cum præroga-
 “ tivâ suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit.
 “ Cæsar in sententiâ mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus
 “ Christianorum.”—*Apolog.* c. 5.

“ Tiberius, then, in whose time the name of Christian entered
 “ into the world, laid before the Senate intelligence which had
 “ been sent from Palestine, and proved the truth of the Divine
 “ power there displayed, and added the influence of his own vote.
 “ The Senate rejected the proposal, because it had not itself first
 “ approved it. The Emperor persisted in his opinion; and
 “ threatened them with punishment who should accuse the Chris-
 “ tians.”—T. CHEVALLIER’S Translation.

The incident alleged by Tertullian is very remarkable, and has given rise to much discussion. Altman, Mosheim, Lardner, Gibbon, and others, have expressed their opinion upon the subject, but differ as to the degree of credit to be given to Tertullian’s statement.

“ dilatoribus militum ejusdem) radios suos primùm
 “ indulget, id est sua præcepta Christûs.”⁵³

“ In the mean time, Christ, the true sun, afforded
 “ his rays—that is, his precepts—to this island, be-
 “ numbed with icy coldness, and lying far distant
 “ from the visible sun : I do not only mean from
 “ the sun of the temporal firmament, but from the
 “ Sun of the highest arch of heaven, existing before
 “ all time, which manifested its brightness to the
 “ whole world during the latter part of the reign of
 “ Tiberius Cæsar ; at which time, as we know, his
 “ religion (notwithstanding the dislike of the Roman
 “ Senate) was propagated without any impediment,
 “ the Emperor threatening death to those who
 “ should accuse the soldiers of Jesus Christ.”

(⁵³) The above is the reading cited by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his *Origines Britannicæ*. The following is that adopted by Mr. Stevenson, in his edition of *Gildas*, published in 1838, under the auspices of the English Historical Society:—

“ § 8. Intereà, glaciali frigore rigenti insulæ, et velut longiore
 “ terrarum secessu soli visibili non proximæ, verus ille Sol, non
 “ de firmamento solùm temporali, sed de summa etiam cœlorum
 “ arce cuncta tempora excedente, orbi universo præfulgidum sui
 “ coruscum ostentans ; tempore, ut scimus, summo Tiberii Cæsaris,
 “ quo absque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur religio, commi-
 “ nata, Senatu nolente, a principe morte dilatoribus militum ejus-
 “ dem, radios suos primùm indulget, id est, sua præcepta, Christus.”

Bishop Stillingfleet, after bestowing much pains upon this passage, seems to have arrived at its true meaning; namely, that the Sun of Righteousness, which from the time of Tiberius Cæsar had been shedding its rays upon the world in general, had, at the time of Boadicea's revolt, when the Britons were suffering the greatest temporal calamities, manifested itself to this island. The concurrent voice of antiquity confirms this opinion; and, although it has not designated the individuals who were the immediate instruments of Providence in enlightening Britain, assigns the year 60 as about the period when the Christian Religion was first introduced into the island.

A.D.
60.

At that time there were no fewer than 48,000 Roman soldiers⁵⁴, including their auxiliaries, in this country, some of whom must have been well acquainted with the name of Christ. A frequent and

(⁵⁴) The four legions which came over with Aulus Plautius were the 2d, the 9th, the 14th, and the 20th. This great army remained in Britain thirty-three years, when the 14th legion was recalled. From this time there were only three legions here, until the reign of Hadrian, when the 6th legion came over from Germany. The 9th legion was either removed or disbanded about A.D. 120. Thenceforth, until the beginning of the fifth century, three legions, more or less entire, formed the Roman force in Britain.

regular communication with Rome had been maintained by Aulus Plautius and his successors ; so that the facility of extending Christianity here must have been quite as great as in many of those districts in which we know the Apostles and their followers were very successful in their labours of love.

But although many circumstances were favourable to the planting of Christianity in Britain, they were not so to its rapid and extensive propagation. War followed war, insurrection followed insurrection, slaughter followed slaughter ; so that, for a great number of years, the knowledge and practice of the Christian faith must have been confined to, comparatively, a small number of persons and families. Some converts there must have been in the Roman army, and some among the native Britons : some centurions like Cornelius, some deputies like Sergius Paulus, some noblemen like him whose son was healed by Jesus, must at this time have existed in Britain. These persons would naturally be struck by the beauty and excellence of the Christian Religion ; and some of them, from admiring, would go on to accept its gracious offers, to believe its vital doctrines, and to practise its necessary duties.

In the midst of Heathenism, the rites and requisitions of Christianity were, necessarily, few and simple. The difference between catechumens and believers was not at first established. All who professed to believe firmly that Jesus was the only Saviour of mankind, and who, in consequence of that profession, pledged themselves to live conformably to the precepts of the Gospel, were admitted, by baptism, into the number of Christ's disciples. These, for the greater part, must have been individual conversions, and conducted with much privacy. The places to which these first Christians resorted, in order to celebrate Divine Worship, were the houses of private individuals. In London, Camalodunum, Verulamium, and other large towns, they probably had some few rooms corresponding to the *ἀνώγεα* and *ὑπερῶα*, or upper chambers, so often mentioned in the New Testament. There, portions of the Old Testament were read, and such also of the Gospels and Epistles as were at that time known⁵⁵; there, hymns and

(⁵⁵) It has not exactly been ascertained at what time the Books of the New Testament were collected into one volume. We know that the Gospels and Epistles were written at different periods. The greater part of them were probably circulated throughout the Christian world before the end of the first century: before the
middle

psalms were sung, and an exhortation addressed to the assembly ; there prayers were offered up ; and there the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered.

A few persons, remarkable for their judgment, their zeal, and the gifts which the Almighty had bestowed upon them, and invested by the Apostles with the same Episcopal authority which Titus exercised in Crete, Timotheus in Ephesus, and perhaps Dionysius in Athens, and having some Presbyters and some Deacons under them, superintended the infant Church in various parts of Britain. The office of a Bishop, in a country situated as Britain

middle of the second they were read in all Christian societies, and formed the divine standard of faith and morals. In the year 61, the Gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, had not yet been written ; but the Gospel of St. Matthew must then have been long published. St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, and the Thessalonians, had also been written several years, and might have been communicated to the Church in Britain by some of the first preachers of Christianity. Bishop Kaye, in his account of Justin Martyr, has made some sound observations respecting the early publication of the Gospels ; and proves, I think, their identity with the ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, referred to by Justin (Apolog. I. 67.) — Dr. Kaye differs from Bishop Marsh in his view of this subject ; and, in my opinion, has much the best of the argument.

then was, must have been full of difficulty and danger. He must have had to contend with the worst kind of prejudice and superstition, from Romans as well as Britons. But we must never forget, that he would be comforted and supported by that Being who said to St. Paul, "My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness⁵⁶." In Britain, however, as in some places in which the Gospel was preached by the Apostles themselves, Christianity, as I have observed, made but slow progress. We know that at Rome, which had been honoured by the residence of St. Paul and St. Peter, several generations passed away before the generality of the inhabitants received the Faith. It is not for us "to know the times and the seasons which the Father has put in his own power⁵⁷," and when it shall please Him to call all the nations out of darkness into light. Human beings, who have themselves been blessed with the knowledge of Salvation, are to do their best in communicating it to others. They are to neglect no means afforded them of extending the Kingdom of God: they are not to be astonished or discouraged if their exertions are not always crowned with success. They may not, perhaps,

(⁵⁶) 2 Cor. xii. 9.

(⁵⁷) Acts i. 7.

reap a speedy harvest ; but they may sow some seeds which, lying long in the ground, may, at last, spring up, and produce, “some thirty, some sixty, some an hundred” fold.

A year now ensued in Britain in which more misery was occasioned, and more blood shed, than during the whole century which preceded it. The insolence, exaction, and violence of the Romans had become intolerable to the vanquished people, and excited an insurrection throughout the greater part of the country. Before we speak of the dire calamities which ensued, it will however be necessary to recapitulate briefly the transactions of previous years.

Ostorius Scapula, dying in the year 53, was succeeded by Aulus Didius in the command of the Roman forces in Britain. Aulus Didius was recalled in the year 57 ; and replaced by Veranius, who died within a year after his arrival in the island. Then came Suetonius Paulinus, a commander of high reputation. After conducting the civil and military operations of his government for two years with great success, Suetonius projected the conquest of Mona (now known as the Isle of Anglesea),

Suetonius
Paulinus.
A.D. 59.

which in those times was the residence of the Arch-Druid, and a principal resort of the disaffected Britons. With great promptitude and skill, he effected a landing on the island with his army. Every thing that fanaticism could effect was now put into practice by the Druids, to stimulate the efforts of their countrymen, and to appal the Roman invader. Women, clad in funeral attire, with dishevelled hair, and with burning torches in their hands, were everywhere seen running through the ranks of the British army. Multitudes of Druids and Druidæ stood in view, with uplifted hands, imprecating curses on their enemies. These were sights and sounds to which the Roman soldiers were unaccustomed, and their firmness was for the moment shaken. But discipline resumed its ascendancy over their minds, and the sagacity and vigilance of their general soon assured them of victory. The contest was fierce, but brief. A dreadful slaughter took place, not only of the British combatants, but also of the Druids. Their groves were cut down, their altars demolished, and themselves burned upon the very fires which they had prepared for their enemies. The fall of Druidism in Britain may be dated from that day; and although it lingered, for centuries afterwards, in different parts of the island, it ceased to oppose

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any very material obstacle to the progress of Christianity.

Before Suetonius had time to complete the conquest of Mona, he was called back into Britain, by the memorable insurrection of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni. This people had been permitted by the Romans to live under the sovereignty of their own native prince, Prasutagus, who was remarkable for his wealth and possessions. Caister, his capital⁵⁸, was about three miles distant from the modern city of Norwich; where, according to Mr. Horsley, traces of the old walls are still visible. Adopting a policy then by no means unusual, and in the hope that his family would be allowed to remain in the quiet possession of a moiety of his kingdom, Prasutagus, by his last will, had made the Emperor his joint heir with his own two daughters. But the measure which he fondly hoped would be the security of his house proved the cause of its utter destruction. Upon the death of Prasutagus, the Roman soldiers, instead of shewing the least regard to his memory, or the least respect towards his widow and family, seemed to consider all his possessions as their own of right, and proceeded to

(⁵⁸) It was called *Venta Icenorum* by the Romans.

commit every act of licence and rapacity. When his widow, Boadicea, remonstrated against these outrages, instead of redress she experienced a treatment of which the reigning Emperor himself would scarcely have been guilty. The queen was beaten with stripes, her daughters were violated, and her kindred reduced to slavery. No tigress robbed of its young was ever more furious than this miserable woman. She flew at once to arms. She told her cruel wrongs to the neighbouring states.—Her appeal to their feelings was successful; and one dreadful cry resounded from every quarter, “Destruction to the Romans!” More than 200,000 of her own people, of the Trinobantes, and other tribes, now ranged themselves under her banners. They encountered the 9th Roman legion, which they cut to pieces. They took Camalodunum, London, and Verulamium, and destroyed 80,000 Romans and allies⁵⁹ in those cities, by fire, the sword, and the gibbet. But Suetonius was not to be dismayed. He collected his forces, which, although inconsiderable in point of number, con-

(⁵⁹) The words of Tacitus (*Annal.* lib. xiv. c. 33) are, “Ad septuaginta millia civium et sociorum:” but Dio Cassius says, Μυριάδες ὀκτὼ τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀντῶν ἐφθάρησαν.—*Hist. Roman.* lib. lxii. c. 1.

sisted of ten thousand of the bravest and best troops in the world. He chose his ground with the greatest prudence, and awaited, unmoved, the furious onset of the enemy. Nothing that Cyrus or Alexander ever did could shew more strongly what discipline can effect against numbers than the result of the battle which ensued. On the one side we behold a multitude of assailants, not unused to war, athletic in frame, fierce in courage, flushed with success, and burning with the desire of vengeance: on the other side, we see a small body of men supported by the proud consciousness that they were Roman soldiers. Notwithstanding all their efforts, the assailants were repelled and routed. The heart sickens at the scene of slaughter that followed. Men, women, and the very beasts which were yoked to the chariots and waggons of the Britons, were put to the sword. Boadicea, seeing that all was lost, destroyed herself by poison. The power of the Britons was so broken by this defeat, that they were not able for several years to make any thing like an effective resistance to the Romans.

For the next seven years Britain enjoyed as much tranquillity as usually falls to the share of a vanquished people. Christianity must have gone

on slowly and imperceptibly, working its way amidst difficulties and dangers, and confirming the observation of our Saviour, that “the kingdom of God cometh not with observation.” Druidism, as I have said, had received so severe a shock by the destruction of its principal ministers in Mona, that thenceforth it was not able to afford a very active resistance to the progress of Christianity. Still, we must recollect that the minds of the Britons were imbued with its prejudices, which it would require a long time to eradicate. The great obstacle, however, to the progress of Christianity arose from the fierce and brutal manners of the people, and from the contempt with which the Romans regarded every thing like the religion of the heart. The Britons would look with no favour upon a dispensation which required meekness, self-denial, and purity in its votaries; and the Romans were averse from a religion which neither dazzled their senses nor soothed their vanity. Under these circumstances, we may imagine that “not many wise men, “after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, “were called.” The silence of Tacitus and other classical writers respecting Christianity in Britain is no proof that it had not been introduced there; for we know how very little mention is made in history of our Religion as existing in other parts of

the Roman Empire, in times when so many thousand persons in Europe and Asia had embraced the Faith. These writers were exclusively occupied with the consideration of military and political transactions, and neither understood nor valued any thing connected with the eternal welfare of their fellow-creatures.

Eighteen months terminated the career of the three successors of Nero. Vespasian became Emperor in the year 69. In the following year, Petilius Cerialis was appointed Governor of Britain. This general, assisted by the celebrated Agricola, carried on a long but successful war against the Brigantes. He was recalled in the year 75, and replaced in his government by Julius Frontinus. Nothing can more strongly shew the stubborn spirit of the Britons than their protracted resistance to the Roman power. Thirty-two years had elapsed since Aulus Plautius first landed on their shores. Battle after battle had been lost, but many of the tribes were still unsubdued. The Silures were again in arms; and it was not until after a very long and severe struggle that Frontinus was enabled to crush all further opposition in this dauntless race. The year 78 was marked by the appointment of Cnæus

A.D.
70.

A.D. 78.
Agricola.

Julius Agricola to the government of Britain—one of the wisest, most energetic, and humane characters recorded in Pagan history. There can be little doubt, that had such a Governor been sent to Britain twenty years before, he would have conciliated the people, and prevented those sad scenes of slaughter which resulted principally from the insolence and exaction of Roman functionaries. No one can read the life of this interesting man, as told by his gifted son-in-law, without regretting that a heart so alive to many good and generous impressions should not have been enlightened by Christian Truth. There were, however, many obstacles to the admission of that truth, even in the breast of Agricola. A life of incessant activity left him but little time for reflection; and the little time that was left was engrossed by thoughts of a secular nature. His great and almost exclusive objects were, to exalt the fame and secure the authority of his country, and to merit the approbation of the Emperor. He detested violence, covetousness, and exaction; but he had recourse to stratagems, which shew that he regarded as nothing the real interests of a conquered country, when compared with the glory of Rome. He introduced luxury among the Britons, as an instrument of corruption, with a view to undermine their courage, and reduce them

gradually to a state of passive and almost willing slavery⁶⁰. In regarding Agricola merely as a citizen of Rome, we may commend such conduct; but as philanthropists, we must designate it as cold-blooded; and as Christians, we must censure it, as disingenuous, as at variance with that law which commands us to “love our enemies” and to “do good unto all men.” Nor can there be a doubt, that, in the end which he proposed to himself, he met with that disappointment which is so often the lot of those who trust solely to the world. Domitian was jealous of the reputation of his General; and if not instrumental in procuring his death, as some historians assert, at least deprived him of those public honours which the soldier prizes so highly⁶¹.

The eight years during which Agricola held the

(⁶⁰) The words of Tacitus are: “Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos *humanitas* vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.”—TACIT. *Vit. Agric.* c. 21.

“By degrees, the charms of vice gained admission to their hearts: baths and porticoes and elegant banquets grew into vogue; and the new manners, which in fact served only to sweeten slavery, were, by the unsuspecting Britons, called the arts of polished humanity.”—MURPHY.

(⁶¹) Dion. Hist. Roman. lib. lxi. cap. 20.

government of Britain were every way memorable. He obtained conquests, not only over the armies of the Britons, but over their minds and manners; and he endeavoured to secure those conquests by every moral and physical precaution. He built walls and fortresses in all places in which they were required; and he softened the fierceness of the barbarians by fostering a taste for letters among them, by encouraging them to build superior houses, and to adopt a better kind of food and apparel than that to which they had before been accustomed. Agricola succeeded in his object to a certain extent. He rendered the Britons dissatisfied with their former condition, and emulous of Roman luxuries and refinements; he extinguished the fire of liberty in their breasts, and rendered them almost incapable of exerting any effective resistance to their conquerors: but he was unable to make them amiable, peaceable, and contented.

We have no account of Britain during the reign of Nerva. Under Trajan, the people seem to have revolted in different parts of the country, and again to have been reduced to a surly ^{Trajan.} kind of obedience. Christianity, at this time, appears to have made such slow progress in the island, that the persecution which prevailed in

many other parts of the Roman Empire left Britain unmolested and unnoticed.

The reign of Hadrian, like that of his predecessor, was a most active and energetic one.

Notwithstanding many imperfections of ^{Hadrian.} character, this Emperor was well qualified to superintend the affairs of his vast empire. Although exceedingly restless and inquisitive, he possessed great method and judgment. His various journeys were undertaken from no motives of pride or ostentation, but from the earnest wish to inform himself thoroughly of the state of his dominions, and thence to derive sounder views of policy and government. In the year 120, Hadrian visited Britain, where he left many traces of the ^{A.D.} active and useful manner in which his time ^{120.}

was occupied. He restricted the exorbitant power of the Presidents of provinces, which, in many cases, had been shamefully abused; and he framed rules by which these functionaries were to regulate the administration of justice. Hadrian was fond of the Arts; and had the barbarous Saxons spared the buildings which he erected in Britain, we should probably see many worthy rivals to those which still remain in different parts of France and Italy. He brought over with him from Germany the 6th

legion, surnamed “*Victrix, Pia, Fidelis*,” which he employed not only in military operations, but in many works of ornament and use. He built a prodigious rampart, as the boundary of the Roman province, from the mouth of the Tyne on the east, to the Solway Frith on the west, near the track where Agricola had constructed a chain of forts. York was the principal residence of Hadrian, whilst in Britain. This city, which seems to have been founded by the Romans, had now risen into a place of considerable size and importance. It was adorned with many superior houses; with baths, temples, and a theatre: it was honoured by the frequent visits of the Roman Emperor and his deputies, and enlivened by the constant presence of many of the Imperial officers and soldiers. From Hadrian’s time, indeed, it became the regular station of the 6th legion.

Whilst engaged in the severe exercises of the camp, or the still more difficult task of legislating for the turbulent Britons, it is pleasing to observe the kind and familiar terms upon which this great Emperor lived with men of tastes very opposite to his own. He received, at this time, the following lines from the Poet Florus, then resident at Rome:

“ Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
 “ Ambulare per Britannos,
 “ Scythicas pati pruinas.”

To which Hadrian returned answer :

“ Ego nolo Florus esse,
 “ Ambulare per tabernas,
 “ Latitare per popinas,
 “ Culices pati rotundos”.⁶²

But his heart, which could thus unbend to good-humour and friendship, was steeled by prejudice and worldliness against the spiritual doctrines of Christianity. Hadrian was an obstinate and conceited pagan. At Athens he was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, which, together with many other foreign rites, he afterwards introduced into Italy. He was not, however, as he has been represented, a bitter persecutor of the Christians. The

(⁶²)

FLORUS.

“ Cæsar’s self I would not be,
 “ Were Cæsar’s choice impos’d on me ;
 “ To march at will through British foes,
 “ And bear their Scythian frosts and snows.”

HADRIAN.

“ Florus’ self I would not be,
 “ Were Florus’ pleasure laid on me ;
 “ Mid tavern haunts at ease to pace,
 “ Where gorg’d mosquitoes line the place.”

rescript addressed by him to Minucius Fundanus shews that it was the intention of this Emperor to prevent Christians from being punished on account of their profession. A Letter of this Emperor has also been preserved, in which he seems to place the Christian Bishops of Alexandria upon the same footing with the Priests of Serapis;—a degrading position, indeed, when considered morally and religiously, but one which does not imply either hatred or contempt on the part of a heathen sovereign. If, indeed, Hadrian's ideas respecting Christianity were confounded with those of Gnosticism, then so prevalent in Egypt, we cannot wonder that he did not regard the formèr more favourably.

The last years of this Emperor's life were so much embittered by bodily disease and pain, that, unable to derive comfort or resignation from the wretched doctrines of Paganism, he attempted to put an end to his existence. The assiduous kindness of his friends prevented this catastrophe; and Hadrian complained that he who could arbitrarily dispose of the lives of others had not power over his own. The verses⁶³ which he addressed to his soul, and

(⁶³) Pope's Christian Paraphrase, and Prior's Imitation, have made these verses familiar to English readers.

which he dictated on his death-bed, shew the state of darkness and uncertainty in which Paganism involved every thing beyond the grave.

Hadrian died in the year 138, and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius. The maxims and conduct of this Emperor prove that he Antoninus
Pius,
A.D. 138. possessed a mind humane, vigorous, and intelligent. With the exception of Socrates, he is perhaps the best character of which the annals of Paganism can boast. Self-righteousness was, probably, his besetting infirmity. An unwillingness to admit the necessity of an atonement for human sin, and of the grace of God to influence and regulate the heart—a disposition to resolve all religion into morality and beneficence—a repugnance to believe that he had a soul accountable to God—were, I think, the chief causes which induced Antoninus Pius, although he protected the Christians⁶⁴, to reject Christianity.

This Emperor did not visit Britain: but, besides

(⁶⁴) The edict of this Emperor to the Common Council of Asia, forbidding them to persecute the Christians, is preserved in Justin Martyr's First Apology; and also in Eusebius, lib. iv. c. 11—13.

his great military force, he maintained a fleet there, of which Seius Saturnius was *Archigubernus*, or Admiral. The works which Antoninus caused to be constructed in our island are worthy of his name, and shew what the Roman soldier could effect, under able commanders, in peace as well as in war. I allude particularly to the rampart erected, by the command of Antoninus, between the friths of Forth and Clyde. This great work, the remains of which still exist, was thirty-seven miles long, of great height and thickness, flanked on the north side by a ditch about twelve feet wide, accommodated on the south by a raised and paved military way, and defended, like the nobler work of Hadrian, by forts and stations along its line. Q. Lollius Urbicus was Governor of Britain during a great part of Antoninus's reign. This general, having defeated the Mæatæ in several engagements, drove back that warlike tribe still further to the north; and built the wall I have spoken of, to restrain their incursions. Well would it have been, had Urbicus been always employed in such useful occupations. Returning afterwards to Rome, he became Prefect of the city; and it was by his cruel sentence that two distinguished Christians, Ptolemæus and Lucius, suffered death on account of their religion.

But persecution was now becoming general. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeded Pius, in the year 161. Surely, notwithstanding all his vaunted great qualities, there must have been something extremely cold and M.Aurelius, obdurate in that man's heart, which A.D.161. could remain not only unconvinced by the many affecting and powerful arguments by which the Christians defended their profession in works addressed to himself, but the unrelenting persecutor of a class of men whose lives were innocent and irreproachable. The conduct of Marcus Aurelius towards the Christians affords a strong illustration of the pride and self-sufficiency of human nature, even in the best of heathens; and shews that the truth of the Gospel will be spurned by those who deny the spiritual wants of man, and the necessity of a divine revelation. It is curious to observe the different effects produced by their favourite pursuits upon men of different dispositions—upon Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and upon one of the victims of his persecution, Justin Martyr. Justin knew as much of philosophy as the Emperor; and was so much attached to it, that he retained the garb of a philosopher to the last. But he brought a candid mind to the investigation of truth. In his ardent search of knowledge, he had visited those

places where it was supposed to be most faithfully and fully imparted. He had especially visited Alexandria, which was then regarded as the centre of the liberal Arts. He had made himself master of the doctrines of Pythagoras : he had tried Stoicism, he had tried Platonism, but he found them all wanting. He was, finally and happily, brought to the knowledge of those truths which alone can “satisfy the empty soul.” He became a Christian : and while the philosophy of Marcus Aurelius permitted him to persecute many of his innocent fellow-creatures even unto death, the faith of Justin enabled him to bear witness to the truth, by word and deed, to suffer and to die. I really know not how the admirers of Marcus Aurelius can efface the stain upon his character which his persecution of the Christians has thrown upon it. Polycarp and Pothinus, two of the principal victims of that persecution, were not only venerable for their age, both of them being upwards of ninety years old, but remarkable for all those works of charity which even the heathens were disposed to admire. Surely it behoved one who, like Marcus Aurelius, professed to be above the common prejudices of mankind—one whose supreme authority ought to have rendered him the protector of all his subjects—surely, I say, it behoved such a one not to believe all the

monstrous fables which an ignorant and brutal multitude brought against the Christians. Why did he not carefully examine the apologies of those Christians, addressed to himself and to his colleague Verus? and if he found them futile or false, why were not answers and expositions put forth by the authority of the Emperor? Nothing of all this was done; but he, the professing philosopher, the actual Emperor, seems to have joined in the cry of the vilest and most infuriated of his subjects, "Death and torture to the Christians!" It is probable that an impious arrogance, in claiming divine honours for themselves, was one chief cause which urged on the Roman Emperors to the work of persecution. The Christians were not only willing, but anxious to shew all respect and obedience to lawful power: their religion commanded them to do so: but, like Daniel, they would not worship any golden image; they would not admit any pretensions to divine authority, which the loftiest of human beings might set up. They suffered, not because they were unwilling to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, but because they refused to render unto Cæsar the worship and adoration which were God's.

As I believe that the doctrine and practice of the

British and Gallican Churches were at this time nearly the same, it will here be proper to speak briefly of the Church over which the venerable Pothinus presided. The city of Lugdunum (the modern Lyons) was not much older Lyons. than London. It was founded by Munatius Plancus, a few years before the Christian æra. Its situation, in the midst of a fine country, and at the confluence of the rivers Rhone and Arar, gave it many agricultural and commercial advantages, and it speedily rose into importance.

The neighbouring city of Vienna (the modern Vienne) claimed an earlier origin than Lyons. It is mentioned by Cæsar as a place of consequence; and Mela and Pliny call it an opulent city. It was so much addicted to Roman literature, that Martial says—

“Fertur habere meos, si vera est fama libellos

“Inter delicias, pulchra Vienna suas.”⁶⁵

Vienna's sons, if true the flatt'ring fame,

Read and extol the books that bear my name.

Although we might suppose, from the connection between the two countries, that Christianity

(⁶⁵) Martialis lib. vii. epigr. 83.

would have originally found its way to Lyons and Vienne from Rome, the fact appears to have been otherwise. A commercial intercourse existed between Lyons and Smyrna; and it was from the latter city that the earliest Teachers of Christianity came to that part of Gaul.

The names of Pothinus, Irenæus, Epagathus, Attalus, and many other Christians of Lyons and Vienne, are evidently of Greek derivation; so that it is with reason supposed that these Churches were founded early in the second century, by some Asiatic Greeks. Pothinus was the first Bishop of Lyons; and he appears to have been qualified by zeal and firmness, by piety and charity, for his arduous office. The persecution of the Christians at Lyons and Vienne is related at considerable length by Eusebius, who has preserved the very affecting Letter addressed by those Churches to their brethren in Asia. After great numbers of the Christians at Lyons and Vienne had been put to death, the rage of persecution abated. Irenæus succeeded Pothinus as Bishop of Lyons.

This remarkable man was a native of Greece, and had been the disciple of Papias and Polycarp, by the latter of whom he was sent into Gaul about the year 157. He was for many years

A.D.
177.

a presbyter of the Church of Lyons; by which he was deputed to bear a Letter to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, respecting the sufferings of the Christians in Gaul, and also relative to some important points connected with the doctrines of the Church. Irenæus is also supposed to have been the author of the Letter addressed to the Asiatic Churches relative to the same persecution. He appears to have united great firmness and moderation with the powers of persuasion, and by his remonstrances to have mitigated the great heat which the controversy respecting the time of observing the feast of Easter had excited between Victor, bishop of Rome, and the Asiatic Bishops. As the latter, notwithstanding the threats and violence of Victor, adhered to their own time of observing Easter for more than a century afterwards, and until the Council of Nice rendered the celebration of that festival simultaneous in almost all Christian Churches⁶⁶, it is clear that the supremacy and universal authority of the Bishop of Rome were not yet established. After presiding for many years, not only over the Church

(⁶⁶) Not in all; for even as late as the seventh century there was a vehement controversy upon this subject with the followers of Augustine and many of the British Christians.

of Lyons, but over the neighbouring Churches, with Metropolitan power⁶⁷, Irenæus was called, like his predecessor, Pothinus, to glorify God by martyrdom. He was beheaded in the year 202, in the persecution of the Christians under Severus⁶⁸. A.D. 202.

(⁶⁷) According to Eusebius, Irenæus had the superintendency of the Gallican Parœciæ or Dioceses—*τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν παροικιῶν ὡς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπεσκόπει*. Lib. v. c. 23.

(⁶⁸) Some writers doubt the martyrdom of Irenæus; and, certainly, Eusebius does not mention it.

CHAPTER III.

FROM A.D. 176, TO A.D. 189.

THE STATEMENTS OF NENNIUS AND BEDE RESPECTING THE CONVERSION OF LUCIUS—CONJECTURES OF OTHER WRITERS REGARDING HIM—TREATMENT OBSERVED BY THE ROMANS TOWARD SOME OF THEIR TRIBUTARY PRINCES—PEDIGREE ASSIGNED TO LUCIUS BY THE WELCH AUTHORITIES, AND BY SIR H. SPELMAN—FABLES OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH—BISHOP STILLINGFLEET'S CONJECTURES RESPECTING LUCIUS—EXTRACT FROM BARONIUS—A GREAT PART OF THE BRITONS, AND OF THE ROMAN ARMY, CONTINUED IN HEATHENISM DURING THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES—THE BRITISH CHRISTIANS GENERALLY FOLLOWED THE RULE AND PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF LYONS, RATHER THAN OF ROME—THE MAIN ARTICLES OF CHRISTIAN FAITH, AS SET FORTH BY IRENÆUS—SOME ACCOUNT OF ELEUTHERIUS, BISHOP OF ROME.

IT is singular, that about the time the Christians were suffering this sore persecution throughout a great part of the Roman Empire, a British Prince should have been actuated by a strong zeal to acquaint himself with the doctrines of Christianity, and to extend them throughout his dominions. I allude to the conversion of Lucius, or, as he is called by the Welch, *Lleuwg*, and *Lleufer Mawr*, “the Great Luminary.” No account has been more

interwoven with exaggeration and falsehood than that relative to this personage. Some writers, indeed, have been so disgusted with the load of fable connected with this subject, that they would bury Lucius beneath it, and deny that such a person ever existed. But this is carrying scepticism to an extreme on one side, equal to that to which credulity has been extended on the other. That there was such a person as Lucius, and that he was a king and a Christian, is proved by the concurrent testimony of Nennius, Bede, Asser, and a great many other ancient writers. It may be proper to place some of these accounts before the Reader.

Nennius says, "that in the year 164," or, according to the reading of some MSS, in the year 167, "Lucius, king of Britain, with all the inferior "British Chiefs, received baptism, in consequence "of a legation sent by the Roman Emperors, and "by the Pope, Evaristus¹." The statement of Bede is as follows: "In the year of our Lord's incarnation 156, Marcus Antoninus Verus, the fourteenth "from Augustus, was made Emperor, together with "his brother, Aurelius Commodus. In their time,

(¹) Nennii Hist. Brit. §. 22.

“ whilst Eleutherius, a holy man, presided over the
“ Roman Church, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent
“ a Letter to him, entreating that, by his command,
“ he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained
“ the object of his pious request; and the Britons
“ preserved the faith which they had received,
“ uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquillity,
“ until the time of the Emperor Diocletian².”

In both of these accounts, in that of Nennius in particular, there are gross inaccuracies. In the first place, Evaristus, bishop of Rome, died in the thè year 109; and therefore could have had nothing to do with the conversion of Lucius, which did not take place until more than half a century afterwards. In the second place, there could be no one native sovereign of Britain in the year 164 or 167, with petty kings under him. In the third place, the Heathen Emperors, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and his colleague, Lucius Verus, were hostile to the Christian Faith; and therefore it is absurd to suppose that they would take an interest in the conversion of any of their vassals.

In Bede's account, the Roman Emperors are

(²) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 4.

wrongly named; and the date which he assigns to the Letter of Lucius accords not with the æra of Eleutherius, who did not become Bishop of Rome until the year 173. Where the chaff of error is so plentiful, it is difficult to sift the grains of truth. Truth, nevertheless, is to be found there; and we can no more deny that such a person as Lucius lived, because Nennius and Bede have fallen into strange errors respecting him, than we can assert that there were no such Emperors as Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, because the same historians are not correct in designating their names and their actions.

Usher, Stillingfleet, Hooker, Baronius, Collier, Rapin, and other modern historians, many of whom have bestowed considerable pains on the subject, express their belief that such a person as Lucius lived, and that he was the means of extending Christianity in Britain. Archbishop Usher mentions two coins³, one of silver, the other of gold, each bearing the image of a King, with a Cross, and the letters L U C, as far as could be discerned, upon them⁴. At what time, then, and in what part

(³) Usser. de Primor. pp. 39, 40.

(⁴) "One of these two coins attributed to Lucius, which is of
" gold,

of Britain, did this Lucius flourish? These are difficult questions to answer; and, after the most diligent search, we can only hope to arrive at probability. Usher has brought forward more than fifty Latin authorities in order to ascertain the precise year of Lucius's conversion. These authorities are, in several respects, at variance with each other; but they in general agree in representing Lucius as living somewhat later than the middle of the second century. Was he, then, a king altogether independent of the Romans? If so, he must have been head of some of those warlike tribes that were driven by Agricola, Hadrian, and Lollius Urbicus, beyond the ramparts in Caledonia, of which we have spoken. But this is almost impossible; for had he been so, he never would have sent to the capital of his enemies' country for instructions relative to Christianity, or indeed for any thing. It is far more likely that Lucius was some prince tributary to the Roman Government. Such a person, if staunch in his allegiance to Rome, might be allowed to exercise some degree of authority in Britain, in

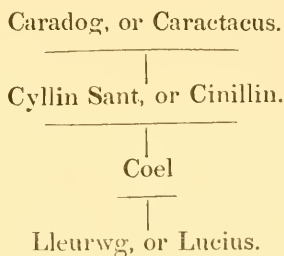
“ gold, is preserved in the Collection at the British Museum; and
 “ is ‘a decidedly false’ one, as Mr. C. F. Barnwell informs me.
 “ ‘Of the other, in silver, nothing is known.’ ”—REV. J. P. PANTIN'S
Preface to STILLINGFLEET'S Orig. Brit. Note ^c, p. xv. vol. i. ed.
 Oxon. 1842.

the second century, as Prasutagus and Cogidunus did in the first. We know that the Romans exerted this kind of policy in different parts of their vast empire. The treatment which the provinces experienced from the conquerors was by no means the same, nor of all cities within the same province ; but different, according to their merits in the eyes of the Romans. In cases where a chieftain was known to be steadfastly devoted to their interest, they confided to him, and sometimes to his children after him, a certain kingly authority. Thus Herod the Great, and his posterity, ruled in Judæa ; Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria ; Deiotarus in Galatia ; Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia. These persons, and others that might be named, were elevated to the rank of kings, or continued in their royal authority, partly as a reward for their attachment, and partly from a regard to that maxim which Tacitus tells us the Romans observed in Britain in the case of Cogidunus :—“ *Quædam civitates Cogiduno regi donatæ : (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit :) vetere ac jampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges*⁵.”

(⁵) Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. xiv.

“ Certain districts were assigned to Cogidunus, a king who
“ reigned

But where, then, did this Lucius live and reign? The Welch Triads claim him as king of that part of Siluria afterwards known by the joint names of Gwent and Morganwg; and the Welch genealogies represent him as the great-grandson of Caractacus, according to the following table:



“reigned over part of the country. He lived within our own
 “memory, preserving always his faith unviolated, and exhibiting
 “a striking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever
 “been the practice of Rome to make even kings accomplices in
 “the servitude of mankind.”—MURPHY.

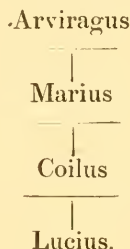
An inscription was found at Chichester, in the year 1723, which may be read as follows: “Neptuno et Minervæ templum pro
 “salute domus divinæ, *ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni*
 “regis, legati Augusti in Britannia, collegium fabrorum, et qui in
 “eo a sacris sunt de suo dedicaverunt, donante aream Pudente
 “Pudentini filio.”—HORSLEY, *Britannia Romana*, B. II. ch. 2.
 No. 76. B. II. c. 3. pp. 332—333.

This shews that Cogidunus, who seems to be the same person as Cogidubnus, was a mere vassal of the Romans—that he had
 assumed

This, no doubt, would be a very interesting descent, could we believe it accurate. But it must be remembered that the Triads and genealogies of Wales were composed many centuries later than the events which they profess to record; and that the Welch Poets, like those of other countries, shew a greater regard to that which may adorn their tales, than to what is literally true. It may also be remarked, that after the Saxons had destroyed the records of Britain, and driven many of the wretched inhabitants to seek refuge in Wales, the Bards of the latter country were anxious to enrich their own annals, by claiming as countrymen some of the most interesting characters which the southern parts of the island had previously produced. It is not in the least degree probable that the Romans, who had suffered so much by the unyielding spirit of Caractacus, would ever permit the posterity of that warrior to rule over a people so remarkably attached to freedom as were the Silures.

assumed the name of Tiberius Claudius, in compliment to the Emperor Claudius—and that he governed his territories in quality of Imperial Legate. See also Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, Book I. chap. 8.

Sir Henry Spelman would place Lucius over the Iceni, assigning him the following pedigree⁶:



But this genealogy is entitled to little consideration, inasmuch as we have reason to believe that none of the names in it, excepting that of Lucius himself, represent persons who ever had a real existence. There is, indeed, a passage in Juvenal in which Arviragus is mentioned:

“ Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi,
 “ Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
 “ Excidet Arviragus⁷.”——

(⁶) Spelman. Concil. tom. i. p. 36.

(⁷) Sat. iv. v. 125.

—— “ See the mighty omen, see,
 “ (He cries) of some illustrious victory!
 “ Some captive king thee his new lord shall own;
 “ Or, from his British chariot headlong thrown,
 “ The proud Arviragus come tumbling down.” }
 DRYDEN.

But it is probable that the name was applied by the poet, fictitiously and generally, to the Britons of that period ; or, that if Arviragus was the name of a real person, it belonged to one of the rulers over the turbulent tribes in the northern parts of the island. Spelman himself seems to think that Arviragus and Prasutagus might be the same person ; but history is at variance with such a supposition. Tacitus tells us, as I have before stated, that Prasutagus died before the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea ; and that he left Nero joint heir with his two daughters, hoping thereby to secure the half of his kingdom to his family. We hear nothing of a son. The observation I have made with respect to the Silures applies equally to the Iceni. After the losses the Romans had sustained from this people under their queen Boadicea, we cannot suppose that they would ever again constitute the Iceni into a kingdom, and place a native Briton at its head.

Geoffrey of Monmouth has also given Lucius a different pedigree from that in Achau y Saint and the Triads ; for he asserts that his grandfather was not St. Cyllin, but Meirig, king of Britain ; thus deducing his descent from Brute and the Trojans. And as Geoffrey, and many other Monkish writers,

are pleased to assign so illustrious an origin to Lucius, they are equally liberal with respect to his dominions. They make him King of all Britain ;—they place subordinate kings under him ;—they assert that he transformed the offices of Pagan Flamins, and Archiflamins, into Christian bishoprics and archbishoprics, and converted the whole fabric of Heathenism in Britain into the *beau idéal* of a Church establishment. With a supreme contempt for chronology, they cause Lucius to found St. Peter's church at Westminster, the church in Dover Castle, St. Martin's at Canterbury, St. Peter's in Cornhill, and a variety of other churches. They cause him not only to build, but to endow. “The glorious king, Lucius,” says Geoffrey of Monmouth, “rejoicing greatly in the progress which the true faith and worship had made in his kingdom, granted that the possessions and territories before attached to the temples of the gods should now be converted to a better use, and appropriated to Christian churches. And because greater honour was due to them than to the others, he made large additions of lands and mansion-houses, annexing numerous privileges to them⁸.” It is fit

(⁸) Gaulfrid. Monument. lib. iv. & v.

that a personage who worked such wonders during life should afterwards have a wonderful place of interment. A king who is to made to effect, in a few years, what sober history represents as the progressive work of numerous generations, is represented, with sufficient consistency, as having been buried, in the second century, in a cathedral that was founded in the eleventh. We are told by Geoffrey of Monmouth that “Lucius departed this life in the city of Gloucester, and was honourably buried in the cathedral church, in the 156th year after the incarnation of Our Lord⁹.” Other Monkish writers are by no means disposed to allow so quiet a termination to the life of king Lucius. Not satisfied with the achievements I have mentioned, they cause him, after christianizing the whole of his dominions, to lay aside his crown, to wander through Bavaria, Rhætia, and Vindelicia, and at last to suffer martyrdom at Curia in Germany.

But the reader will be glad to find a clue by which to extricate himself from this labyrinth of fables and absurdities, and be conducted to something like the safe and authorised path of History.

(⁹) Gaulfrid. Monument. lib. iv. & v.

Such a clue is, I think, afforded by a hint of Bishop Stillingfleet's. That author suggests that Lucius may possibly have ruled over those territories which were once possessed by the Romanized Cogidunus, from whom he might probably have been descended. Of all the opinions that have been offered on the subject, this surely is the most reasonable. It appears extremely probable that, during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Commodus, a native Britain, named Lucius, reigned, by the permission of the Romans, over the country of the Regni, now known as Surrey and Sussex; and also over that of the Dobuni, which comprised the modern counties of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire;—that hearing much of the Christian Religion, as observed in many parts of Britain, and particularly brought to his notice by the accounts of the sufferings of the Christians of Vienne and Lyons and of some remarkable conversions at Rome, Lucius was anxious to obtain, for himself and his people, the advantage of being fully instructed in this religion;—that, for this purpose, he despatched two British Christians, Medwy, and Elvan or Elfan, to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome; not because he regarded that bishop as the supreme Head of the Christian community, but simply because he himself, being tributary to the Romans, naturally looked

up to Rome as the centre of information upon every question of importance ;—that Eleutherius, in compliance with the request of Lucius, sent back, with Elvan and Medwy, two ecclesiastics, to whom tradition has assigned the names of Faganus and Duvianus ; who, coming into Britain, baptized King Lucius and many of his subjects, and thus enlarged and more fully confirmed that Christian faith which had been introduced into different parts of the island for upwards of a hundred years.

The following is the account which Baronius gives of these events :—“ Lucius nunquam se Christianæ religioni infensum exhibuit, hostemve ; sed quòd Christianorum miracula simul et vitæ integritatem admiraretur, in eosdem propensior videbatur. Amplexusque fuisset jam ante Christianam religionem, nisi avita, velut nexibus, obligatus esset superstitione, nisi etiam conspexisset Christianos ab Ethnicis ipsis, ut infames vilesque haberi ; a Romanis ipsis, apud quos summa rerum esse videbatur, et gladio et injuriis assiduò lacerari. Comperit tamen postea, novitque ex legatis Cæsaris Senatores etiam aliquos Christianos factos esse, et inter alios Pertinacem quemdam, atque Trebellium : Imperatoremque ipsum Marcum

“ Aurelium, victoria¹⁰ eorum precibus obtenta, be-
 “ nignè habuisse Christianos. Quibus his, aliisque
 “ perceptis, Lucius legationem misit ad Eleutherum
 “ Romanum Pontificem, per Elvanum et Meduinum
 “ Britannos; rogans per eos Eleutherum, ut per
 “ se suosque ministros ad Christianam religionem
 “ suscipiendam, aditum patefaceret: quod et ob-
 “ tinuit. Nam idem pontifex Fugatium et Do-
 “ natianum, aliter Damianum, in Britanniam misit,
 “ qui regem et alios Christianâ religione imbutos
 “ sacris initiarent mysteriis; quod et naviter im-
 “ plexerunt: cum alioqui diu ante (quod testatur
 “ Gilda sapiens) Christi Evangelium illuc perlatum
 “ fuisset¹¹.”

(10) The victory to which Baronius alludes was that obtained
 by Marcus Aurelius over the Marcomanni, after his fainting army
 had been refreshed by a plenteous shower of rain, sent from
 Heaven, as many ancient writers assert, in consequence of the
 prayers of the Christian soldiers. The statement respecting the
 conversion of Pertinax and Trebellius appears to be unsupported:
 certainly, Marcus Aurelius himself never became a Christian.

(11) Baron. *Annales Eccles.* tom. ii. A.D. 183.

“ Lucius never manifested opposition or hostility to Christianity;
 “ but rather appeared favourable to the Christians, inasmuch as he
 “ regarded with admiration their miracles and purity of life. He
 “ would have embraced Christianity at an earlier period, had it

This, I think, we may receive as an approximation to the truth. We may also believe, that although churches similar to those of modern times were not then known, Lucius might set apart some places for the worship of God in different parts of his dominions ;—that at Glevum, which is the modern Gloucester ; at Durocornovium, which now is Cirencester ; and at Regnum, which now is

“ not been that he was bound in the fetters of the ancient superstition, and, in addition, saw the Christians treated as infamous and contemptible by the heathen nations, and incessantly persecuted by the Romans themselves, then the masters of the world. At a later period, however, he learned from the ambassadors of Cæsar that even some Senators had become Christians, and, amongst others, one Pertinax, and Trebellius ; and that the Emperor Marcus Aurelius himself treated the Christians kindly, having gained a victory by their prayers. These and other particulars having come to his knowledge, Lucius sent an embassy to Eleutherius, the Roman Pontiff, by means of Medwy and Elvan, who were Britons ; and through them, he requested of Eleutherius that he and his Ministers would open to them the door of entrance to the Christian Faith. His request was granted ; for this Pontiff sent into Britain Fugatius and Donatianus, otherwise named Damianus, for the purpose of admitting the king and others, who were already imbued with Christianity, to the sacred mysteries of the Christian Faith ; (for long before, as Gildas the Wise testifies, the Gospel of Christ had been propagated there ;) which mission they diligently fulfilled.”

Chichester, and at other places, he promoted the settlement of a few Presbyters and Deacons, and perhaps of a Bishop. This establishment, if such it may be called, could have been neither numerous nor affluent. The country not being divided into parishes until many generations after this period, and tithes not being yet made over to the Christian Church, the Ministers of Religion must have been supported by some assistance from the Sovereign, and by the offerings of the Christian community.

We must believe, then, that Christianity had at this time struck its root in different parts of Britain; that although the tree had grown but slowly, many thousands derived spiritual sustenance and comfort from the fruit that it bore, and from the shelter it afforded. We learn, from the testimony of Tertullian, that the Gospel was now known, not only in the more civilized portion of the island, but in the remotest parts of it. The words of that writer¹² are most decided upon this subject:—
“Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo verò
“subdita”—“The Gospel had access to those parts

(¹²) Tertull. adv. Judæos, c. 7.

“ of Britain whither the Romans had none.” I have mentioned several towns within the probable dominions of Lucius ; but there were other and more distinguished places, beyond his jurisdiction, where the Christians must have been rather numerous. York was then the principal city of Britain. Here probably, although the prevalence of heathenism rendered some degree of caution and concealment necessary, resided the Metropolitan¹³. We have also sufficient grounds for believing that Bishops were at this time seated at London, Caerleon, Lincoln, and other places.

But, whatever were the exertions of Lucius within his own territories, and of the ecclesiastics throughout the country, with respect to the great work of conversion, there can be no doubt that the greater part of the British people, and of the Roman army, continued heathens during the next hundred years.

If it appear surprising to any one that Christianity should have advanced so partially and slowly

(¹³) The dignity and name of Archbishop were not known until 200 years after this period.

in Britain, he will, upon inquiry, find that it was not otherwise in Gaul. He will find, that while the Churches of Vienne and Lyons were established in great purity of doctrine, and possessed such eminent instructors as Pothinus and Irenæus, the neighbouring provinces continued during the next hundred years sunk in heathen darkness.

Nor ought it to be a matter of surprise to us, that if a Church existed at this time, as it certainly did in Britain, so little mention of it should be made in ancient writers, and that so few records should exist upon which we can absolutely depend. Is not the case the same even with Churches which we know were founded by the Apostles themselves, or their immediate followers? What records have we, besides a few notices in Holy Writ, of the Churches of Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea? The early accounts of the Church of Rome, upon which the learning and application of so many distinguished writers have been constantly employed, are mixed with great uncertainty and confusion. There is much contradiction respecting the first Bishops of Rome; and although catalogues of them are given by Irenæus, Eusebius, and others, their lives, their ages,

the order of their succession, their very names, are, in many instances, still problematical. How then can we wonder that the ecclesiastical records of a remote island like Britain, harassed as it was by so many cruel wars and invasions, should not have been preserved? Nor have we a right to be disappointed at the silence of the classical historian. If Tacitus, Pliny, Dion Cassius, and other celebrated writers, were ignorant of, or regarded with silent contempt, the progress of Christianity, even in the heart of the Roman Empire—if they omit all mention of such admirable and devoted men as Clemens, Telesphorus, and others, who laid down their lives for the Gospel—how can we be surprised that they should be ignorant of, or neglect to notice, the names and actions of British Christians?

It is satisfactory to reflect, that little as the converts to Christianity in Britain were known to history, their very obscurity tended to preserve them from many errors and heresies by which the faith of several other nations were infected. The impious notions of the Gnostics and the Manichees; the Platonism and subtleties of the Alexandrian School; the gloomy notions of the Essenes and Therapeutæ; the double meanings given to Scriptural expres-

sions; the sophistry and fraud by which Christianity was disgraced, in many of the Asiatic and African cities, and even in Rome itself, were then unknown in Britain. Some accommodation might be shewn to the prejudices of the Roman soldier, or to those of the follower of Druidism, in things of trifling importance; but there is reason to believe that in all essential points the British Christians adhered, in simplicity and steadfastness of heart, to "the faith once delivered to the saints." It is remarkable, too, that at a time when Britain was subject to the Romans, and when a British Prince was actually sending to Rome for religious instruction, the Church, as generally spread throughout the island, followed the discipline and practice, not of Rome, but of Smyrna and Lyons. This is evident from the fact, that the Feast of Easter was celebrated by the British Christians, not according to the rules of the Western, but to those of the Eastern Churches.

But Churches were at this time independent of each other, united only by the bonds of charity and faith. The Church of Jerusalem itself, planted as it was in that most interesting of all cities, which God, from such very early ages, had been pleased to consecrate and to protect by so many

wonderful acts and deliverances—a city which Jesus Christ had so much honoured by His presence—a city in which his Apostles had so long resided, and in which the truth of the Gospel had been so miraculously attested and confirmed—the Church of Jerusalem itself, whatever Metropolitan power its Bishop might exercise, never claimed any supreme jurisdiction over the Churches of other countries.

The Church of Antioch came next to that of Jerusalem in point of time, and in several other important particulars. It was in that city, as we all know, that the followers of Jesus first received that name which they must prize above all other titles—the name of Christians. Still, the Church of Antioch presumed upon no supreme privileges.

It was reserved for Rome, in after-ages, to depart from the pattern of humility which our Blessed Lord had set both to individuals and to collective bodies of men;—it was reserved for the Church of Rome to arrogate to herself universal dominion, temporal as well as spiritual; and, while she was thus acting, in defiance of precept and example, to call herself the Representative and Vicegerent

of Him who has declared that “His kingdom was not of this world.”

As yet, however, these claims were not asserted ; and it is, as I have remarked, an extraordinary circumstance, that during the period that this country was but a province of Rome, the British Christians, in general, observed the Rules of the Church of Lyons rather than those of their conquerors. Happily, however, there were at this time very few points of difference in any Churches. Notwithstanding the efforts of many subtle and dangerous heretics in various countries, a happy agreement then prevailed among the great body of Christians respecting the grand articles of Faith. The Canon of Scripture had been settled for many years, and had been introduced into most Christian countries before the middle of the second century. What that faith was, we learn from one who was himself the disciple of a Disciple of St. John ;—I allude to Irenæus. That primitive Father of the Church informs us¹⁴ that there was, in his time, “an unalterable Canon, or Rule of Truth, which every one received at his baptism.” In a subsequent passage¹⁵

(¹⁴) Iren. adv. Hær. lib. i. cap. 1.

(¹⁵) Ibid. lib. i. cap. 2, 3.

he tells us, that “the Church, although dispersed
 “over the whole world, having received from the
 “Apostles and their disciples the faith in one
 “God Almighty, who made the heaven, the earth,
 “the seas, and all things that are in them; and in
 “one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incar-
 “nate for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost,
 “who preached by the Prophets the dispensations
 “and the advents; the birth from a Virgin, the
 “Passion, and the Resurrection from the dead; the
 “Ascension of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord
 “with his flesh into heaven, and his coming again
 “from the heavens in the glory of the Father, to
 “re-establish all things, and to raise all the flesh
 “of human kind; that, according to the good-will
 “of the invisible Father, every knee, of things in
 “heaven, and things on earth, and things under the
 “earth, should bow to Christ Jesus, our Lord, and
 “God, and Saviour, and King; and that every
 “tongue should confess to Him; and that He should
 “pass a just judgment upon all; and that He should
 “send the angels who transgressed and apostatized,
 “together with ungodly, unrighteous, lawless, and
 “blaspheming men, into everlasting fire: but that,
 “granting life to the righteous and holy, and to
 “those that keep his commandments and abide
 “in his love (some from the beginning, and some

“ after repentance), he should bestow upon them
“ incorruption, and invest them with everlasting
“ glory.”

“ The Church,” continues Irenæus, “ although
“ dispersed throughout the world, having received
“ this Præaching and this Faith, carefully preserves
“ it, as inhabiting one house. These things she
“ believes, as having one soul and one heart ; and
“ these things she consistently preaches and teaches,
“ and delivers with one mouth. For although there
“ are different languages in the world, the force of
“ Tradition is one and the same ; inasmuch as
“ neither the Churches which are founded among
“ the Celts, nor those in Spain, nor in Gaul, nor in
“ the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Africa, nor in the
“ middle parts of the world, either received or deli-
“ vered any other faith. But as the sun, which
“ enlightens the whole world, is the same, so does
“ the preaching of this Truth everywhere shine
“ forth, and enlighten all who desire to come to the
“ knowledge of the Truth. The most eloquent
“ among all the Bishops themselves will preach no
“ other doctrine than this (for no one must presume
“ further than his Master taught him), nor will the
“ meanest speaker diminish from this tradition : for
“ the faith, being one and the same, neither he that

“ is able to say the most of it has ever enlarged it,
“ nor has he that uses but few words taken any
“ thing from it.”

Having had occasion to make frequent mention of Eleutherius, I shall close the present Chapter by giving some information respecting him. Eleutherius, or, as he is called by some writers, Eleutherus, is said to have been the son of Habundius, a Greek of Nicopolis. Nicephorus says, that his mother's name was Anthia, a pious woman, who introduced him to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, by whom he was instructed in divinity¹⁶. He became a Deacon at the early age of fifteen ; and three years afterwards, a Presbyter. He succeeded Soter in the See of Rome about the year 175, being himself the 12th Bishop from the age of the Apostles. In the early part of his episcopacy, Eleutherius¹⁷ seems to have been deceived by the followers of Montanus, so

(¹⁶) The Magdeburg Centuriators observe upon this: “ *Magnam oportet tum Romanorum episcoporum humilitatem ; si pueris instituendis operam navarunt.*” Cent. ii. cap. 10.

(¹⁷) Bishop Pearson, I think justly, supposes that Eleutherius was the Bishop to whom Tertullian alludes, when he says that he gave peace to the Churches of Asia by acknowledging the prophecies of Montanus and Priscilla. Diss. ii. c. 9. p. 255. Tillemont, and other writers, are of a different opinion.

that he wrote Letters in their favour to the Churches of Asia ; which Letters, upon more accurate information respecting the heresy, he revoked ; and, by doing so, drew upon himself, as men who vacillate always do, the reproaches of the disappointed party. But, however irresolute Eleutherius might at first have been upon this occasion, his conduct appears to have been marked by strict integrity, as will be seen by the following circumstance. After the heretic Marcion had been re-admitted into communion with the Church, he contributed a large sum to the general fund, which was raised by charity. Relapsing into heresy, Marcion was again expelled by Eleutherius ; who, in exercising this severe but necessary act, ordered the money which he had contributed to be restored to the delinquent. Owing to what circumstances Eleutherius was enabled to preserve his life, and to preside for many years over the Church of Rome, then the centre of persecution, we have no means of judging. Such, however, appears to have been the case ; for the Romish accounts of his having been put to death are not well founded. Eleutherius held his bishopric fifteen years¹⁸, and died in the year 189.

A.D.
189.

(¹⁸) There is a doubt among ecclesiastical writers as to the term

The following remarks of Baronius upon his death are worthy of attention: “Quod autem ad
 “diem obitus pertinet, cum Romanum Martyro-
 “logium, tum librum de Romanis pontificibus nos
 “secuti, die ante memoratâ decessum ejus ex hac
 “vita posuimus: sed an gladio, nobis incompertum
 “est: nisi quod in antiquis omnibus Martyrologiis,
 “martyr reperitur adscriptus: cùm tamen certum
 “sit, (ut in nostris Notationibus pluribus demon-
 “stravimus,) Martyris nomen tribui consuevisse non
 “iis tantùm, qui violentâ morte Christi causâ mori
 “quoquo modo coacti essent; sed et commune
 “fuisse illis etiam, qui fidei confessionis causa
 “cruciamentum aliquod subiissent, licet martirium
 “minimè consummassent.”¹⁹

term of years during which Eleutherius held the bishopric of Rome; some assigning him thirteen, others fifteen years. Bishop Pearson expresses himself in rather a confused manner upon the subject.

(¹⁹) Baron. *Annales Eccles.* tom. ii. A.D. 194.

“But as regards the time of his death, following the Roman Martyrology and the book concerning the Roman Pontiffs, we have assigned his departure out of this life to the day above mentioned, though we have been unable to ascertain whether it was by violence. He is indeed, in all the ancient Martyrologies,
 “enrolled

“ enrolled as a martyr; but then it is certain, as we have repeat-
“ edly shewn, that the name of Martyr was wont not only to be
“ conferred on those who were in any manner compelled to suffer
“ death for Christ’s sake, but was also common to those who bore
“ witness to the Faith by undergoing persecution, although their
“ sufferings might fall short of martyrdom itself.”

To Eleutherius the Romish writers ascribe a Decretal addressed to the Churches of Gaul; and a Decree declaring (against the notions of Montanus and his followers) that no kind of food was forbidden to Christians. But both these pieces are considered spurious.

CHAPTER IV. -

FROM A.D. 165 TO A.D. 233.

CALPHURNIUS AGRICOLA COMMANDS THE ROMAN FORCES IN BRITAIN—
 ULPUS MARCELLUS — P. H. PERTINAX — D. CLODIUS ALBINUS —
 DEATH OF THE EMPEROR COMMODUS—L. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS—
 DEATH OF CLODIUS ALBINUS — VIRIUS LUPUS, PRESIDENT OF
 BRITAIN—ACHIEVEMENTS OF SEVERUS—HIS DEATH—CARACALLA
 —CHURCHES SUPPOSED TO BE FIRST ERECTED IN BRITAIN DURING
 THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS—OBSERVATIONS UPON THE
 PRACTICES OF THE BRITONS WITH REGARD TO DIVINE WORSHIP—
 CATECHUMENS—INFANT BAPTISM—THE TERMS “DIOCESE” AND
 “PROVINCE” CONSIDERED IN A CIVIL AND IN AN ECCLESIASTICAL
 POINT OF VIEW.

DURING the latter years of Marcus Aurelius, some of the Northern tribes gave much disturbance to the Roman Government in Britain. An officer of reputation was, accordingly, sent from Rome, to repress them. He bore the auspicious name, and was probably a collateral descendant of the Great Agricola. Calphurnius Agricola arrived in Britain about the year 165. His exploits were not altogether unworthy of his illustrious namesake: but the peace which was obtained by his vigorous

measures was broken under the disgraceful reign of Commodus. The vices and misrule of that infamous Emperor were felt by his subjects, even in the extreme parts of his dominions. The Caledonians broke through the Wall of Antoninus, and, being joined by the Mæatæ, invaded the Roman province, and cut in pieces a considerable force which was commanded by an inexperienced leader. The safety of all Britain was endangered, when Ulpus Marcellus was sent to take the principal command in the island. Xiphilinus tells us, that this General was most vigilant in his habits; and that, being desirous that his followers should be no less so, he was accustomed to write his instructions upon twelve separate tablets; some of which were carried, at different hours of the night, to his officers, in order that they, being impressed with the notion that their commander was ever awake, might themselves be more prepared for active service. The slumbers of Marcellus were certainly not prolonged by intemperance, for his diet was worthy of a Spartan. In order that he might not exceed in food, the bread which he ate was that which had been brought from Rome, which by its staleness could be no incentive to the appetite. But such qualities, joined with great valour and prudence,

A.D.
180.

although they secured peace to Britain, were ill adapted to render their possessor a favourite with Commodus¹. Marcellus was removed from his government; and probably considered himself fortunate in escaping with life. After the departure of Marcellus, the offices of trust and emolument were given to the creatures of Perennis, the Minister and favourite of Commodus. A mutiny consequently arose in the British army; 1500 of whom were deputed to proceed to Rome, and represent their grievances to the Emperor. A.D. 186. Of all petitioners, those of a military class are most likely to be heard by a tyrant. The complaints against Perennis, although probably much exaggerated, proved fatal to the Minister. He was delivered over to his accusers, who first scourged, and then beheaded him.

Britain had fallen into such a state of insubordination, that it now became necessary to send thither a Governor of decided abilities. Publius Helvius Pertinax was accordingly selected for this command. Although of lowly origin, Pertinax had received a good education; and, possessing those

(¹) Xiphil. in Commod.

active qualities which render a man useful both in peace and war, soon became respected and distinguished. We may trace him through the posts of Centurion, Prefect of a cohort, Commander of a squadron, Commissioner of provisions, Admiral of a fleet, Prætor, and Consul. Vigour and determination were his great qualities; and by their exertion, notwithstanding the greatest difficulty and danger to himself, he at length succeeded in restoring order to the army, and to Britain in general. But the severity of his measures had rendered him unpopular; and he was recalled from Britain at his own earnest request.

He was succeeded in the government by Decimus Clodius Albinus, a man of distinguished birth and conduct. Albinus was descended from the Posthumian and Cejonian families, both of which were ancient and illustrious. Notwithstanding the curious and contradictory account which Spartianus has given of him, he must have possessed many great and useful qualities. His administration of affairs in Britain was firm as well as conciliating. He kept the natives in quiet submission to the Roman Government, and was greatly beloved by his own soldiers. Whilst employed in this honourable and useful manner, he received a confidential

Letter from Commodus, communicating the treasonable designs of several distinguished Generals ; and authorising Albinus to declare himself the guardian and successor of the throne, and to assume the rank and title of Cæsar. But Albinus was not dazzled by this tempting offer : he knew the odium which he should incur by adopting the recommendation of Commodus, and he had the wisdom to decline it. He pursued the same dignified course which he had before adopted. Upon a premature rumour of the Emperor's death he assembled and harangued his troops, and declared himself anxious to restore to the Senate and to the people that authority under which, in ancient times, republican Rome had become so prosperous and happy. His conduct upon these and other occasions, while it was applauded in Britain and even at Rome, subjected him to the hatred and threats of Commodus. An order for his recall from Britain was issued by the Emperor, and Junius Severus was appointed to succeed him. But before these intentions were carried into effect, the monstrous life of Commodus, which had been passed in the practice of every vice which can disgrace a man or distress an empire, was cut short by assassination. And here we may pause, to remark on the mysterious ways of Providence, as connected with

A.D.
192.

the extension of the Gospel. The Christians, who had suffered such sore persecution under the grave and philosophic Marcus Aurelius, were unmolested during the reign of his profligate son. But God, who is often pleased to confound the wisdom of the wise and the strength of the mighty, sometimes causes the worst of men to be instruments in advancing the purposes of His kingdom.

A wretched woman, of the name of Marcia, was the mistress of Commodus. This person, although she had previously led an abandoned life, had once been a Christian. Relapsing into vice, she threw off her religious profession; but she could not divest herself of all respect and veneration for those who had endeavoured to rescue and to save her. This feeling induced her to shew kindness to the Christians, and to exert her influence in restraining Commodus from doing them harm.

Other causes, perhaps, contributed to the same end; so that, during the twelve years of Commodus' reign, the Church not only suffered little persecution, but several distinguished citizens of Rome became Christians. It is probable that Pertinax, who was called to the empire upon the murder of Commodus, was himself favourable to Christianity;

but his valuable life was terminated within three months, by the brutal fury of the Prætorian guards. The empire of the fairest portion of the world was then submitted to public auction by the murderers of Pertinax. Military insolence, venality, and oppression, could go no further than this. Didianus Julianus became the purchaser: but even in that degenerate age the authority of such an Emperor was the object of general scorn. With such an occupant the throne was considered as almost vacant; and three competitors for its possession arose, in the persons of Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, and Lucius Septimius Severus.

A.D.
193.

I have already spoken of Albinus.—Niger was at this time Governor of Syria; where his conciliating manners, and his military and civil virtues, had rendered him respected and beloved. Severus was born at Leptis in Africa, about the year 146. He was brave, sagacious, active, and persevering; but he was also cruel and perfidious: and although Herodian has compared him to the first and greatest of the Cæsars, he might more justly have likened him to Sylla. No feeling of generosity or humanity, of justice or remorse, ever checked Severus in the career of ambition or revenge. When he heard

of the murder of Pertinax, he was commanding the Pannonian army on the banks of the Danube, whence he marched with astonishing rapidity to Rome. The wretched Julianus soon met with the fate of his illustrious predecessor. Severus, having been acknowledged lawful Emperor by the Senate and the people, lost no moments in idle pageantry ; but at once directed his march against Niger, the most formidable of his rivals ; at the same time neutralizing the exertions of Albinus, by persuading the latter that he wished to share the empire with him. Having overcome and destroyed Niger, Severus attempted to get rid of his remaining competitor, by assassination²; but his artifices being discovered, Albinus collected a numerous army, consisting of Roman soldiers and the flower of the British youth, and crossed over into Gaul to encounter his treacherous enemy. The battle which decided the fate of the Roman empire was fought at Trevoux, a few leagues from Lyons. A.D. 197.
Historians tell us, that the British legions exerted themselves with so much valour and success, that, at one critical period, Severus, supposing the battle to be lost, threw from him his purple

(²) Hist. August. p. 84.

robe, and began to fly with his army ; but, that the troops of Albinus, being disordered by their eagerness to pursue, were attacked by a reserve of the enemy, headed by Lætus, who thus turned the tide of victory. Severus then returned to the charge, and soon became master of the field.—Albinus perished by his own hand. But the hatred of Severus ceased not with the death of his rival, to whose corse every indignity was offered³.

Meanwhile, Britain had become the scene of the greatest confusion. The Northern tribes, observing the defenceless state of the Roman province, invaded it in great numbers, spreading desolation wherever they came. Upon being informed of these disasters, Severus sent Virius Lupus, with a body of troops, into Britain. This officer, whom Ulpian styles President of Britain, appears to have been more successful in works of architecture and luxury than in those of a military character. The following Inscription, which our Antiquarians have preserved, relates to the restoration of the town Olicana, now Ilkley, in Yorkshire⁴:

(³) Dion. lib. lxxv. p. 1261. Herodian. lib. iii. p. 110. Hist. August. p. 68.

(⁴) Camden's Britannia, Gough's Edit. vol. III. p. 7.

IM. SEVERVS
 AVG. ET ANTONINVS
 CAES. DESTINATVS
 RESTITVERVNT. CVRAN-
 TE VIRIO LVPO LEG⁵E-
 ORVM. PR. PR.⁶

Another Inscription has been found in Richmondshire, relative to a Bath-house, restored by the same Virius Lupus, for the use of the First Thracian Cohort, then quartered at Levatræ⁷.

DAE... FORTVNÆ
 VIRIVS LVPVS
 LEG. AVG. PR. PR.
 BALINEVM VI
 IGNIS EXVST
 VM. COH I. THR-
 ACVM REST-
 ITVIT. CVRANTE
 VAL. FRON-
 TONE PRÆF....
 EQ. ALAE VETTO

(⁵) LEGATO.

(⁶) PRO PRÆTORE.

(⁷) Camden's Britannia, Gough's Edit. vol. III. p. 25.

Not being able, by the fortifications which he raised, or by the forces which he was able to bring into the field, to repel the invaders, Virius Lupus was at length induced to purchase peace with a sum of money. It may well be imagined that tranquillity obtained in this ignominious manner could never be lasting. After an interval of two years, the incursions of the Mæatae and Caledonians were renewed with increased violence ; and Lupus was compelled to write, in the most urgent terms, to Severus, entreating him to send over a considerable army into Britain, or to come himself and put an end to disturbances against which his Lieutenant found himself unable to contend. Neither age nor bodily infirmities had quelled the energies of Severus. With his wonted promptitude, he collected a very numerous army, and arrived in Britain, with his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, in the year 207. The warlike character of the Emperor, and the mighty preparations he had made, were known to the Caledonians, who now sent ambassadors to sue for peace. But Severus refused to accede to any terms but those of absolute submission to his mercy ; and these not being accepted, he marched towards the north. His eldest son, Caracalla, accompanied the expedition ; whilst Geta was instructed to remain in

A.D.
207.

London, to protect the southern provinces of Britain. The victories which have been obtained in Caledonia, whether by Severus in ancient times, or more recently by our First Edward, have always been attended by the heaviest losses. It is said that 50,000 of Severus's troops perished, through excessive labour, or by the ambuscades of the enemy. But the persevering energy of Severus triumphed over every obstacle. The Caledonians were at length entirely subdued, and compelled to submit to the will of the conqueror. Severus, however, was not satisfied with putting a glorious end to the war. Perceiving that nothing would prevent these Northern tribes from renewing their incursions unless they were restrained by a more effectual barrier than any which his predecessors had raised, he determined to build a wall of solid stone, a few paces to the north of Hadrian's rampart. This wall, from Segedunum to Tunocelum, that is, from Cousin's House, near the mouth of the River Tyne on the east, to Boulness on the Solway Frith on the west, was sixty-eight English miles in length; its height was twelve feet, besides the parapet; and its breadth eight feet⁸. Three

(⁸) For an account of this wall, consult Gordon's *Itin. Septent.* p. 83. Horsley's *Brit. Rom.* B. I. c. 8. pp. 121, 122. Bedæ *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. Henry's *Hist. of Britain*, Book I. Appendix, No. IX. and Whitaker's *Manchester*, B. I. c. 12.

different kinds of fortresses, which may be called *stations*, *castles*, and *turrets*, were erected along its line. Of these, the *stations*, although not all of the same figure or dimensions, were by far the most considerable in point of size and strength. They were designed for the head-quarters of the cohorts of troops which were placed there in garrison, and whence detachments were sent to the adjoining castles and turrets. The stations were fortified on every side with deep ditches and strong walls; the main wall forming part of each building towards the north. Within the stations were accommodations for the officers and soldiers; the smallest of such stations being capable of containing 600 men, the complement of a cohort. Adjoining to each station was a town consisting of Roman and British labourers and artificers, partly slaves and partly freemen, who, with their families, were glad to avail themselves of such military protection. The number of stations along the whole line of wall was eighteen. They were not, however, placed at equal distances from each other, the interval between them being regulated by the nature and exigencies of the spot. Thus, towards the centre of the wall, where attacks from the Mæatæ and Caledonians were most to be apprehended, the stations were nearest to each other. Wherever such advan-

tages could be obtained, the declivity of a hill, a south aspect, and the vicinity of a river, determined the situation.

The *castles* were eighty-one in number. These were greatly inferior, in point of size and strength, to the stations, in the intervals between which they were placed. They were squares of sixty-six feet, and were guarded by a competent number of soldiers detached from the main cohort.

The *turrets* were a great deal smaller than the castles; each forming a square of twelve feet, and standing out of the southern side of the main wall. They were placed between the castles, their whole number amounting to upwards of 300. The turrets were guarded by sentinels; who, upon the approach of danger, were thus able to spread an alarm from one extremity of the wall to the other.

The ditches, roads⁹, and other military accommodations accompanying the wall were worthy of the Romans; whose soldiers, unlike those of modern times, rendered themselves as useful in peace as they were formidable in battle. The usual force

(⁹) The great defect in the Roman roads was, that they almost always crossed the rivers of the island, not by bridges, but at shallows or fords.

allotted to the defence of this stupendous line of fortification amounted to 10,000 men.

While thus active in defending the frontier, Severus was no less diligent in improving the interior of Britain. Numerous Inscriptions have been found, in different parts of the country, indicating the zeal with which he raised useful and ornamental buildings, and founded and enlarged various towns. In York was his Palace, his Mint, and his Hall of Justice : in this city he spent much of his time when in Britain, and in this city he ended his days. A.D. 211.

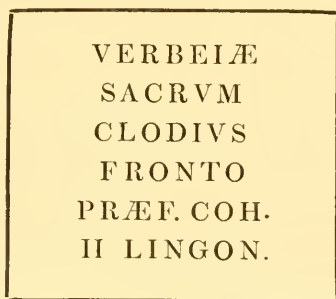
But, whilst we admit the greatness and the utility of many of Severus's achievements, we can award but little admiration to the man who performed them. All seems to have proceeded from an ambitious and a cruel heart. The treatment which the Christians, in particular, experienced from him, must rank among the worst of his actions. His enmity against this class of his subjects is supposed to have arisen from the unwillingness which many of them manifested, upon religious grounds, to serve in the army. The active, warlike disposition of Severus, and the state of the empire, exposed on almost every side to the

incursions of barbarians, gave him a strong dislike to all who were averse from seconding him in his military operations. This feeling, inflamed as it was by the misrepresentation of malicious persons, induced him, in the year 202, to forbid any of his subjects, under the severest penalties, to embrace either the Jewish or the Christian religion. The edict which he published upon this occasion gave rise to the fifth general persecution of the Church. Alexandria, Carthage, many of the cities of Asia, Lyons, and Rome itself, were the scenes of cruel suffering and martyrdom. It was, however, a happy circumstance, that the enmity of Severus against Christianity had subsided some time before he visited our island. No persecution took place during his residence in Britain. Heathenism, however, still prevailed here to a lamentable extent. At this time we find Roman idolatry incorporated with British superstition. The remains of many altars erected to Jupiter, Belatucadrus, Silvanus, and various local deities, have been found in different parts of the country. Of these, I shall describe the following.

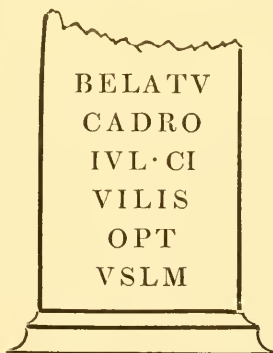
The first¹⁰ is an Altar, found in Yorkshire, dedicated by Clodius Fronto, the Commander of a

(¹⁰) Camden's *Britannia*, Gough's edit. vol. III. p. 7.

cohort of Langrian troops, to Verbeia, the Nymph or Goddess of a neighbouring river.



The second¹¹ is an Altar dug up in Cumberland, bearing a dedication to the God Belatucadrus; and erected by Julius Civilis, a Præfect of the Watch.

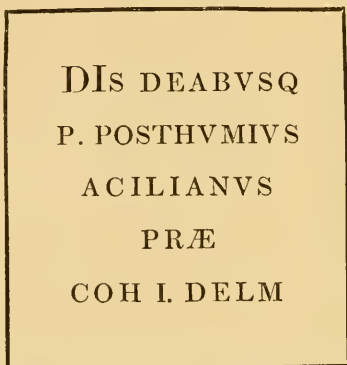


To be read thus :

BELATUCADRO JULIUS CIVILIS OPTIO
(Commander of the Watch)
VOTUM SOLVIT LIBENS MERITO.

(¹¹) Camden's Britannia, Gough's edit. vol. III. p. 171.

The third¹² is an Altar dedicated by Publius Posthumius Acilianus, Prefect of the 1st Cohort of Dalmatians, to the Gods and Goddesses.



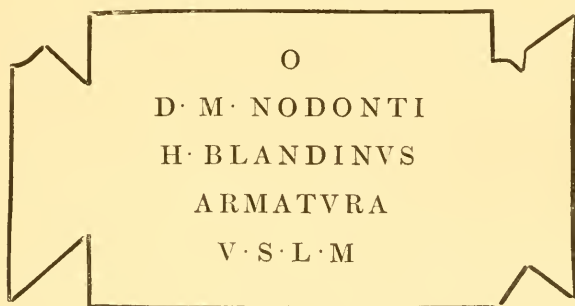
To be read thus :

DIIS DEABUSQUE
PUBLIUS POSTHUMIUS ACILIANUS
PRÆFECTUS COHORTIS PRIMA DELMATARUM.

The fourth is an Altar dedicated to Nodens, and found among the remains of a Roman Encampment at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, by the late Right Hon. Charles Bathurst. It appears, from the number of Inscriptions which have been found at

(¹²) Camden's Britannia, Gough's Edit. vol.III. p. 171.

Lydney, that Nodens was a Deity corresponding to Æsculapius; and that he had a temple in which votive offerings were suspended, by those who attributed to him the recovery of their health.



To be thus read :

DEO MAGNO NODONTI
(or, as in the other Inscriptions it is spelt, NODENTI)
H. BLANDINUS ARMATURA
VOTUM SOLVIT LIBENS MERITO.

The last Inscription which I shall notice, is a very remarkable one, found, about 200 years ago, near Domburgh, in Zealand, but addressed to Nehalennia, a British rather than a Scandinavian Goddess.

DEAE NEHALENNIAE
 OB MERCES RECTE CONSER-
 VATAS SECVND SILVANVS
 NEGOTIOR CRETARIVS
 BRITANNICIANVS
 V · S · L · M.¹⁴

We cannot be astonished that the deplorable idolatry, of which the above Inscriptions are instances, should have continued to be practised in this country; because we find it prevailing, at the same period, upon a wider scale, in places where Christianity had taken much stronger root than in Britain; even in Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome.

The last years of Severus's life were any thing but happy. Of all the temporal punishments to which a cruel and bad man is subjected, few can exceed

(¹⁴) “ TO THE GODDESS NEHALENNIA,
 ON ACCOUNT OF HIS MERCHANTIZE SAFELY PRESERVED,
 SECUNDUS SILVANUS,
 A CHALK-MERCHANT OF BRITAIN,
 WILLINGLY PERFORMED HIS MERITED VOW.”

Keysler, *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, p. 246.

those which arise from the ingratitude of his children towards himself, and from their mutual hatred. His two sons, Caracalla and Geta, from early childhood, were at enmity with each other; and the eldest of them plotted the destruction of his father¹⁵. The bodily sufferings under which Severus languished were as nothing, when compared with the pangs he must have endured on this account: and if ever man's gray hairs were brought down by his children with sorrow to the grave, they were those of this unhappy father. He died at York, in the beginning of the year 211. His body was carried forth by the soldiers to the funeral pyre, kindled in a place west-ward of the city; where is a large hill of earth, which, according to Camden, Radulphus Niger says was called, in his time, *Siver's Hill*, from Severus¹⁶. His ashes, deposited in an urn of porphyry, were conveyed to Rome, and placed in the sepulchre of the Antonines.

A.D.
211.

The remark previously made respecting the exemption from persecution which the Church enjoyed under Commodus is applicable to the reign

(¹⁵) Dion. lib. lxxvi. Hist. August. p. 71.

(¹⁶) Camden's Britannia, Gough's edit. vol. I. p. li. Vol. III. p. 10.

of Caracalla. It appears that the nurse of the latter was a Christian ; and although Caracalla was never one himself, despising as he did all religions, and violating every moral tie, yet the prepossessions of childhood in some degree influenced him, in after-life, in favour of the Christians. There is one fact in the history of this Emperor which must have excited a great sensation in Britain ; I mean, the edict which extended to all the free inhabitants of the empire the name and privileges of Roman citizens. The most specious measures of a tyrant are open to suspicion ; and there can be little doubt that the one in question was dictated by no generous feeling, but arose entirely out of the prodigality and the wants of Caracalla. The Britons, in addition to the heavy tributes which they had before paid as subjects, now became liable to the peculiar impositions which were laid upon Roman citizens.

After a reign of little more than six years, disgraced by cruelty and numerous other vices,
Caracalla met with the violent death which
he had inflicted upon his brother and so
many of his best subjects. The short reign of his
next successor was terminated in a similar manner;
as was that also of the infamous Elagabalus.

A.D.
217.

The rule of Alexander Severus, who was now called to the empire, was marked by peace towards the Christians, and by gentleness and kindness towards all his subjects. Although he was not a convert to Christianity, we may well suppose that his life was involuntarily influenced by many of the precepts which he had acquired from the Christians. We know, in particular, that the golden rule of the Gospel was such a favourite with Alexander, that he ordered these words to be inscribed upon many of the public buildings: "Do not to another what you wish him not to do to you." On his march against the Persians, when any of his soldiers did injury to the houses or property of individuals by the way, he commanded the delinquent to be beaten with rods of iron: or if the rank of the offender exempted him from such punishment, the Emperor publicly reprimanded him; asking solemnly, how he would like that any similar depredations should be committed upon his own estate.

It is said that Alexander once intended to erect a temple to Jesus Christ; but was deterred from his purpose by the soothsayers, whose objection bears noble testimony to the character of those they opposed. "If the Christians," they exclaimed, "are to have temples of their own, erected

by public authority, the temples of the Roman Deities will be forsaken, and the empire in general will embrace Christianity."

But although this Emperor did not himself erect any temple to Jesus Christ, it seems certain that he permitted the Christians to build and to assemble in churches¹⁷: for when the Company of Victuallers complained to him that a Christian Church had been built upon a piece of ground which they claimed as their own, Severus would not accede to their petition; but said, that it was better that God should be worshipped in any manner, than that the spot in question should be appropriated to a tavern¹⁸.

Britain, in common with all the provinces, felt the beneficial effects of such a reign, both in her ecclesiastical and in her political relations. The tributes before exacted were now reduced to a thirtieth part of their former amount¹⁹; and the

(¹⁷) Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book VIII. ch. i. sect. 15. Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical Hist.* Cent. III. Part. I. ch. i.

(¹⁸) Lamprid. *Vit. Alexan.* c. 49.

(¹⁹) The usual tribute of ten aurei, that is, of about *8l. 1s. 6d.* of our money, was now diminished to the third of an aureus.—*Hist. August.* p. 127.

little flock of Christians increased considerably in many parts of the country. It is to this Emperor's reign, and to about the year 230, that I would assign the erection of the first churches in Britain. My opinion upon this subject is founded upon the statements of Gildas²⁰ and of Bede; who tell us, that after the persecution under Diocletian had passed away, the British Christians rebuilt their churches, which had been destroyed in those days of affliction. From this statement, it is clear that churches existed in Britain anterior to the reign of Diocletian: but as none seem to have been built before the close of the second century, we can select no time for their first erection more probable than that in which the favourable disposition of a Roman Emperor towards the Christians must have become known throughout his empire.

A.D.
230.

(²⁰) “Renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas; basilicas
“sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac velut
“victricia signa passim propalant.”—GILDAS *de Excid. Britan.* §. 12.
BEDÆ *Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 6, et 8.

“They rebuild the churches, which had been levelled to the
“ground; they found, erect, and finish churches to the holy
“martyrs; and everywhere shew their ensigns, as token of their
“victory.”—Dr. J. A. GILES.

At this time, the doctrines and duties of Christianity had excited great attention in different parts of the world. Julia Mammæa, the mother of Alexander, had solicited and obtained a conference with that remarkable Christian teacher, Origen, at Antioch; and an Arabian Prince had desired the same person to come and instruct him in the principles of the Gospel. While such an impetus was given to religious inquiry in Eastern countries, there is no doubt that it was not quiescent in the West. In Italy and Spain, in France and Britain, the teachers and followers of Christianity must have increased considerably. Urbanus was then Bishop of Rome; and although he exercised no acknowledged jurisdiction over foreign Churches, his position, in the capital of the empire, gave him facilities in assisting the efforts of Christian individuals and societies in distant countries. The Christians of his own diocese having been permitted to build and to resort to churches, he would naturally be anxious to extend these advantages as widely as possible. It is not improbable that he furnished models of such ecclesiastical buildings as might suit the exigences and situation of the Christians in the great cities of Europe which were subject to the Emperor. The opinions and advice of the Bishop of Rome, upon these and other

subjects, although not in the least degree binding upon other Churches, would be received with respect, and, where circumstances permitted, would be followed. Experience, however, had taught the Christians, in every country, the necessity of great caution in their proceedings. They were aware that the calm which they now enjoyed might only be temporary ;—that the present Emperor, like most of his predecessors, might be cut off in a moment by a turbulent soldiery ;—and that, instead of the olive-branch of peace which he presented, the sword of persecution might be unsheathed against them. Under such a conviction, they would wish to avoid every thing which might provoke the jealousy and even the attention of the Pagans, who were still much more numerous and powerful than themselves ; and their places of religious worship would be regulated, not by their wishes, but by what the danger and difficulty of their situation enabled them to accomplish. We must also consider, that, as the territory and revenues of each country were still in the hands of Pagans, the Christians were necessarily poor, and had not the means of raising such buildings as every pious and generous heart would wish to see dedicated to the service of Almighty God. Under such circumstances, the first churches in Britain were built of

humble materials, and in lowly form ; the fabric being of wood, and the roof of straw. They were not adorned, either outwardly or inwardly, with paintings, crosses, and images²¹ ; although texts of Scripture appeared, in various places, upon the walls²². Nearly in the middle of the church was placed a reading-desk, called *ambo*, *pulpitum*, and *tribunal ecclesiæ*, from which portions of Scripture were read to the congregation by the Deacons. In York, London, Lincoln, and other principal towns, the altar or communion-table—for these and many other titles were synonymously used—was not placed close to the eastern wall of the church, but at such short distance as to allow the Bishop's place to be behind it ; the seats of the Presbyters, forming segments of circles, or ellipses, on each side of his throne. From the altar the sermon was usually delivered by the Bishop or some one of the Presbyters.

Divine Worship was then performed in the

(²¹) Mosheim thinks that such ornaments, together with the use of incense, were introduced in the course of this century ; but Bingham and Mede are good authority against such a notion.—See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book VIII. ch. 6. sect. 20. ch. 8. sect. 6.

(²²) Bingham, *ibid.* ch. 8. sect. 3.

vulgar tongue of every nation²³. It consisted, as it now does, in Psalmody ; in certain stated Forms of Prayer ; in a Sermon ; and, with regard to the Morning Service, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. I am aware that some writers have denied that any stated forms of worship were adopted by the early Christian Church. But surely, when we consider that Our Saviour and his Apostles attended the Service of the Temple and of the Synagogue, in both of which stated Forms of Prayer were constantly used ; that Our Lord has sanctioned this usage, by teaching us his own perfect Form of Prayer ; and that St. Paul repeatedly employs the same salutations to his friends, the same doxologies, and other expressions of praise and supplication to God ; we may not only affirm that the practice in question is primitive, but founded upon the institutions of the Old Testament, and

(²³) “ The Grecians, says Origen (Contr. Cels. lib. viii. p. 402), “ use the Greek language in their prayers, and the Romans the “ Roman ; and so every one in his own dialect prays to God, and “ gives thanks as he is able : and the God of all languages hears “ them that pray in all dialects, understanding their different lan- “ guages as well as if they spake with one tongue. This he “ says in answer to Celsus, who charged them with using of bar- “ barous and unintelligible names and words in their prayers.”—*BINGHAM'S Antiq. of the Christian Church*, B. XIII. ch. 4. sect. 1.

upon the authority and example of Jesus Christ and His Apostles. I mean not to say that the Liturgies in primitive times were universally the same. Undoubtedly they varied, being regulated by the judgment and authority of the Bishops in their different churches. It is probable that these Liturgies, at the time of which I speak, consisted of certain forms of worship committed to memory, and known by practice, rather than consigned to writing; because in the subsequent persecution under Diocletian, although vigilant search was made after such things, we do not find that any Ritual books were delivered up by the *traditores* to be burnt. But that some set Forms of Prayer were then used in churches, we learn from many ancient writers. In proof of this, I shall adduce the following passage from Origen²⁴: “ We frequently “ say in our prayers, ‘ Grant us, O Almighty God, “ grant us a part with Thy Prophets; grant us “ a part with the Apostles of Thy Christ; grant

(²⁴) Orig. Hom. xiv. in Jerem. (olim. xi.), pp. 217, 218. tom. III. ed. Benedict. Palmer, in his Orig. Liturg. vol. I. sect. 4. p. 102, observes, with reference to this passage, that Origen “ appears to “ quote from the Liturgy; and his quotations are accordant in “ meaning and substance with the Prayers in the Egyptian Liturgies.”

“ that we may be found at the feet of Thy only-begotten Son ²⁵ ! ”

The Lord's Prayer was used, in all her holy offices, by the universal Church ; and therefore undoubtedly formed part of Divine Worship in Britain ²⁶.

With respect to the times of assembling for the purpose of congregational worship, I think it probable that these in Britain were in general confined to the first days of the week. A few persons assembled on the Wednesdays and Fridays, and a still less number every day ²⁷. Their meetings took place early in the morning ; and in the evening, after sunset. Upon these occasions the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which was considered essential to salvation, formed an invariable part of the

(²⁵) For this translation, see Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, B. XIII. c. 5. sect. 6. He observes, that the Centuriators consider this as decisive testimony upon the subject.—*Centur. Magdeburg. cent. iii. c. 6.*

(²⁶) Bingham, *ibid.* c. 5. sect. 6 ; and c. 7.

(²⁷) Bingham has considered this subject with his usual good sense and learning ; and I must refer the reader to him.—*Antiquities of the Christian Church*, *ibid.* c. 9.

Morning Service²⁸. The wine was then mixed with water, and the bread divided into separate portions. Part of the consecrated elements were carried to the sick or absent members of the church, as a token of Christian fraternity.

In those times there was one great and melancholy difference in the mode of observing the Lord's Day from that which afterwards so happily prevailed. That rest, which under Governments truly Christian is one great characteristic, privilege, and blessing of the Lord's Day, would thus have been but little known. The heathen master and the heathen magistrate had no feeling upon this subject, in common with the Christian; and the latter, after offering up his prayers and praises to his God and Saviour, was under the necessity of returning to his daily tasks. Thankful as it behoves the Christian to be for all the blessings which he now enjoys, there is nothing which more urgently calls for his gratitude than the rest which is his portion on this sacred day. .

(²⁸) Persecution hitherto not having prevailed in Britain, the Christians might not be under the necessity of assembling at such very early hours as they were in most other countries.

The sacrament of Baptism was not at this time administered within the church. The Baptistery was a separate building, supplied with a font or pool, in which persons were immersed at baptism. The Bishop, or, by his authorisation, the Presbyter, publicly administered the sacrament of Baptism twice every year ; although, in cases of emergency, persons were privately and immediately baptized. In those times, when Heathenism prevailed so extensively, it was thought necessary that the adults who offered themselves for baptism should be prepared for it, by examination into their principles and belief, and by prayer and fasting ; and it was to answer for such adults, who were called *Catechumens*, that sponsors, although afterwards assigned to infants, were at first instituted. The remission of sins, the regeneration or new birth, were always devoutly believed to accompany baptism²⁹ ; and no doubt was entertained that the subsequent imposition of hands, and prayers of the Bishop, conferred those sanctifying gifts of the Holy Spirit which are essential to a Christian life³⁰.

With regard to the time during which persons

(²⁹) Bingham's *Antiq. of the Christian Church*, Book XI. c. 1.

(³⁰) *Ibid.* Book XII. c. 3. sect. 7.

continued catechumens, there was no certain rule. The practice varied in different times and countries, and depended much upon the proficiency and conduct of the catechumens. We know that in the Apostolic age there was no long interval between conversion and baptism. The history of Cornelius, of the Ethiopian Eunuch, of Lydia, and of the Jailer at Philippi, prove that, in those times, catechizing and baptizing accompanied each other. But in subsequent ages, in consequence of the number of persons who in time of persecution apostatized from their religion, and the greater numbers who fell into vice, the Church deemed it necessary to appoint a considerable term of probation before she admitted catechumens to baptism. In some countries this term was extended to two, and even three years: but in Britain, where persecution, and consequently apostacy, had not hitherto prevailed, catechumens were baptized after a few months' probation. In some countries, also, there were several gradations among the catechumens; one order of whom were allowed to participate more fully than another in the Services of the church. But in Britain it is not probable that such distinctions existed; so that I think the community, with respect to their religious professions, might be divided into the three following classes:

the Unbelievers, the Catechumens, and the Baptized Believers.

When an adult presented himself as a candidate for baptism, one important question was always asked—whether he were a slave or a freeman. If he were a slave to a Heathen, the duties of obedience were enjoined upon him, without any reference being made to his master. But if he were the slave of a Christian, the testimony of his master was required, before he was admitted to the privileges of baptism.

Although peculiar notions were entertained by individuals with respect to Infant Baptism, it was the universal doctrine of the Church that infants were to be baptized as soon as possible after their birth. This fact we may learn by a reference to the works of the Fathers who lived at the period of which I am now writing. I shall bring forward one example of such a case. When Fidus, an African Bishop, inquired of St. Cyprian, whether infants might be baptized within two or three days after they were born; or whether it was necessary to wait until the eighth day, according to the practice of the Jews with regard to circumcision; the following answer was returned by St.

Cyprian³¹, and a Synod of sixty-six Bishops, whom he had convened to consider the subject:—

“ Now as to the case of new-born infants, who
“ should not, according to your opinion, be baptized
“ within the second or third day after their births,
“ but should rather wait the time appointed by the
“ Law for Jewish circumcision, and so not receive
“ the sanctification of baptism till the eighth day;
“ I must tell you, that we were all, here assembled in
“ council, of another mind, and no one of us came
“ into your sentiments; but, on the contrary, we all
“ concluded that the grace and mercies of God were
“ to be denied to none who should come into the
“ world. For since Our Lord hath said in his
“ Gospel, *The Son of Man is not come to destroy*
“ *men's lives, but to save them* (Luke ix. 56); as far
“ as in us lies, we should certainly use our endea-
“ vours that no soul be lost: for what, I beseech
“ you, can be imagined wanting to a human crea-
“ ture formed in the womb by the hands of God?
“ Children, after they are born, seem indeed to us
“ to receive an increase of growth and stature, as
“ each day, by which in this world we compute the

(³¹) Cypr. Ep. LIX. al. LXIV. ad Fidum.

“ succession of time, advances ; but in the account
“ of God, whatsoever is made by Him is imme-
“ diately perfected by His glorious power. And
“ that the gifts of God are equally dispensed to
“ all, whether infants or adults, the Holy Scrip-
“ tures have fairly hinted to us in that passage
“ (2 Kings iv. 34) where Elisha is represented as
“ laying himself upon the infant child of the Shu-
“ nammite widow, then dead in the house ; putting
“ his mouth upon its mouth, his face upon its face,
“ and stretching each limb of his own upon each
“ limb of that : which, if you interpret literally,
“ considering the different dimensions of an infant’s
“ body from a grown person’s, it were impossible
“ for them so to suit and tally together, or that the
“ less limbs of the one should be co-extended with
“ the larger members of the other. But, indeed,
“ there is in this representation a mystical and
“ hidden meaning ; and the equality, which there is
“ between all men, when God hath once created
“ them, is herein alluded to : and so, though, ac-
“ cording to the estimate of the world, an advance
“ of years upon us may produce a growth of our
“ bodily stature, yet this is a difference which
“ enters not into the account of God ; except you
“ could imagine that the grace which is conferred
“ upon baptized persons is dispensed in different

“ proportions, according to the difference of age in
 “ its several recipients : whereas, in truth, the Holy
 “ Ghost is given to all in equal measures, through
 “ the divine indulgence and benignity, without any
 “ regard to their bulk or growth: for as *God accepteth*
 “ *no man's person* (Galat. ii. 6.), so neither doth He
 “ respect the age of any one ; since He approves
 “ Himself equally the Father of all, and opens to
 “ all alike the attainment of His heavenly grace.
 “ As to what you object of an infant's uncleanness
 “ during the first days after its birth, and that none
 “ of us care to kiss it within such a period ; we
 “ cannot agree with you that this should be any
 “ hindrance to it from receiving the grace of
 “ Heaven ; since we find it written, that *to the pure*
 “ *all things are pure* (Titus i. 15).

“ Nor ought any of us, at last, to be squeamish
 “ with regard to a creature which God hath vouch-
 “ safed to make. For though an infant, in this
 “ case, comes fresh from the birth, yet still we
 “ should not be³² nice in kissing it, or giving it the

(32) If it had been agreed that it was improper to kiss children
 till the eighth or ninth day, *that*, in our author's time, would
 have implied that they could not be baptized ; because the *kiss of*
peace attended baptism, as an acknowledgment that the person
 baptized was received into the fellowship of the Faithful.

“ usual token of peace when it is baptized ; but
“ should rather consider, as our religion would
“ direct us upon such an occasion, that the hands
“ of God are but just taken from it ; which, there-
“ fore, in a fair construction, we may be understood
“ to kiss, when we embrace what was so lately
“ made by them. In the Jewish circumcision of
“ the flesh, the eighth day was, indeed, observed ;
“ but then that was but a type and figure of some-
“ what to come after it, which is now completed
“ and finished by the coming of Christ : for because
“ it was the eighth day (*i.e.* indeed the first after
“ the Jewish Sabbath) wherein Our Lord was to
“ rise from the dead and quicken us, and appoint
“ for us a spiritual circumcision ; this same eighth
“ day, or first after the Sabbath, thus signalled by
“ Our Lord’s resurrection, was heretofore appointed
“ as a type ; which ceases, in course, when its anti-
“ type appears, and when the spiritual circumcison
“ is given us to supply its room.

“ Upon the whole, therefore, we think that no
“ one is now, by any law, restrained from the grace
“ of baptism ; and particularly, that the carnal
“ should not be suffered to hinder the spiritual
“ circumcision ; but that every person should, by
“ all means, be admitted to the grace of Christ ;
“ especially since St. Peter hath said, in the Acts of

“ the Apostles, that *God had shewed him he should*
“ *not call any man common or unclean* (Acts x. 28).
“ If any thing could hinder a human creature from
“ the attainment of grace, one would think it should
“ rather be the guilt of those more heinous sins
“ which adult and grown persons are most apt and
“ likely to commit. But now, if remission of sins
“ be granted to these most heinous offenders, who
“ have long ago sinned against God, and if none of
“ them be denied access to the grace of baptism,
“ how much less reason is there for denying it to
“ infants ; who, being but newly born, can be guilty
“ of no sin, except that, by being derived from
“ Adam according to the flesh, their birth hath
“ communicated to them the infection and punish-
“ ment of his offence ; who, therefore, are the more
“ easily admitted to the pardon of their sin, because
“ it is not so properly their own as another’s.”—*The*
Epistles of St. Cyprian, translated by Nath. Marshall,
pp. 189--191.

Churches were not at this time extended over the country, but were confined to the larger towns ; private houses, in most places, continuing to be the only resort for the Christian worshipper. Although the demand for churches would be regulated, not by the gross population, but by the Christian

proportion of it, we must suppose that churches were more numerous in York and London than in other places; excepting, perhaps, in those which were under the controul of Lucius and his descendants.

Since the middle of the first century, Eboracum, or York, had been the principal residence of the Roman Pro-prætor. Here, no doubt, resided a Bishop³³; and under him a competent number of

(³³) “ It appears incontestable, from the most authentic records
 “ and the best histories of this century, that in the larger cities
 “ there was at the head of each church a person to whom was
 “ given the title of *Bishop*, who ruled this sacred community with
 “ a certain sort of authority; in concert, however, with the body
 “ of Presbyters, and consulting, in matters of moment, the opi-
 “ nions and the voices of the whole assembly. It is also equally
 “ evident, that in every province *one* Bishop was invested with a
 “ certain superiority over the rest, in point of rank and authority.
 “ This was necessary to the maintenance of that association of
 “ churches which had been introduced in the preceding century;
 “ and it contributed to facilitate the holding of General Councils,
 “ and to give a certain degree of order and consistency to their
 “ proceedings. It must, at the same time, be carefully observed,
 “ that the rights and privileges of these primitive Bishops were
 “ not everywhere accurately fixed, nor determined in such a
 “ manner as to prevent disputes.” — MOSHEIM’S *Ecclesiast. Hist.*
 Cent. III. Part II. chap. 2.

Presbyters, Deacons, and inferior Ministers of the Church. The same may be said of London; which, although the chief mercantile city of Britain, was then inferior, in point of dignity, to York. Until the reign of Septimius Severus, Britain constituted but one province. That Emperor divided it into two, or perhaps into three provinces; respecting which great difference of opinion prevails among antiquaries, many of whom have confounded the division which took place in the days of Severus with that which was not made until after the time of Constantine the Great³⁴. It will be sufficient to remark, that in the time of Alexander Severus Britain was divided into three great portions; London being the capital of the Southern, York of the Northern, and Caerleon of the Western division: and there is reason to suppose that the Bishops of these three cities exercised a Metropolitan jurisdiction over their respective provinces, the Bishop of York being superior in dignity to the two other bishops.

(³⁴) Dr. Henry, who, in general, is a safe guide with regard to Ancient Britain, is rather confused in treating of this subject. The division which he ascribes to Septimus Severus is calculated to mislead the reader.—See Henry's *History of Britain*, Book I. chap. 3. sect. 3.

It seems to be generally admitted, that the nature and form of the Roman Government furnished some model to the primitive Christians for their temporal regulation of the Church. Wherever the Apostles found a fixed Civil magistracy, there they commonly endeavoured to establish an Ecclesiastical one, consisting of a Presbytery (corresponding to the Senate); over whom was placed a President, denominated the Προεστῶς, Apostle, Angel, or Bishop of the Church. The jurisdiction of this superior was not confined to a single congregation, but extended over the whole district attached to the city. This district was the Προάστεια, Παροικία, or, as in modern times it is called, the Diocese of the Church; although, as I shall presently shew, the term *Diocese* was, originally, far more comprehensive in its meaning. It is probable that it was upon such a model that St. Paul directed Titus to ordain Presbyters in Crete, in every city³⁵.

Another division of the vast countries constituting the Roman Empire was into *Provinces*. A province

(³⁵) The reader who wishes to trace the analogy between Political and Ecclesiastical Regulations, as existing in the early ages of Christianity, must consult Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book IX. c. 1.

consisted of a certain large territory, which, together with the cities, towns, and villages appertaining to it, was subject to one superior magistrate, who usually resided in the principal city within its borders. Corresponding to such temporal magistrate was the Metropolitan in the Church, who exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the whole province. When any province was divided in the State, a similar division ordinarily took place in the Church; and when any city attained to a higher eminence in a political point of view, it generally received an analogous accession of Ecclesiastical dignity. This was done, not for the purpose of administering to human pride, but to render the authority and influence of the Church more extensive and beneficial. There was in later times an inversion or confusion of meaning with regard to the terms *Province* and *Diocese*: for whereas, in many cases, a diocese is understood to be comprehensive of several provinces, a province afterwards was almost universally supposed to contain many dioceses. In the former sense, the very extensive territories which, spiritually as well as politically, were called Dioceses, were under the ecclesiastical government of Patriarchs and Exarchs, having under them Metropolitans; which Metropolitans had Suffragans, or Bishops, subordinate to them-

selves. Thus the diocese of Egypt consisted of six large provinces, under the spiritual government of the Patriarch of Alexandria: the Oriental diocese was made up of fifteen provinces, under the Patriarch of Antioch: the diocese of Africa of six provinces, under the Exarch of Carthage. In Europe, the Bishop of Rome was the Patriarch of ten provinces; and the Bishop of Milan, Exarch of seven. The Spanish diocese contained seven provinces; the Gallican diocese seventeen; and the Britannic diocese three, and afterwards five: but in Spain, Gaul, and Britain, although one Bishop had a superior jurisdiction over the rest, the term Patriarch and Exarch do not seem to have been employed³⁶.

The revenues of the Bishops, and of the Clergy in general, proceeding as they then almost wholly did from voluntary offerings, must have been scanty, and utterly insufficient to enable them to perform any great and extensive works of Christian charity. Tithes, and every other description of property, were then in the hands of heathens; and although there must have been some instances of houses and

(³⁶) The sense in which the term "Diocese" is used in this work is the more contracted one.

lands being left to the Church, the Clergy were in general maintained by the daily and weekly offerings which were made at the altar, and by the monthly contributions which were cast into one common treasury. These revenues were usually distributed every month, by the Bishop, among the Clergy³⁷.

As the Clergy of Britain were poor, so were they at this time few in number, undistinguished by learning and talent, but united among themselves, untainted by heresy, and independent of any foreign jurisdiction. Although the Bishop of Rome generally exerted himself in sending Missionaries to convert heathen nations, and in consecrating Bishops to preside spiritually over them when converted, he had nothing whatever to do with the appointment of Bishops in countries which were already christianized. He possessed a certain pre-eminence of rank; and the power he exercised of excommunicating persons from the Church of Rome, situated as that Church was in the heart of the Empire, and necessitated as many Christians were to visit the capital, gave him considerable influence.

(³⁷) Bingham's *Antiq. of the Christian Church*, Book V. ch. 4.

But his actual and legal jurisdiction extended not over Germany, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Africa, Illyricum, nor even over the whole of Italy³⁸, but was confined to the ten provinces of the Roman diocese.

Nothing, indeed, can be well more absurd than the supremacy claimed in after-ages by the Pope, when we consider that the very circumstances which once invested the Bishop of Rome with a certain kind of pre-eminence now no longer existed. In primitive times, when the Romish Church was pure in doctrine, and when Rome was Mistress of the world, her Bishop never pretended to exact that homage and obedience which the Popes have latterly arrogated to themselves, when the Empire was no more, and when the Church itself was corrupted by a thousand errors³⁹.

I shall conclude this chapter with the following remarks :—

That whatever respect might be shewn towards

(³⁸) Du Pin is ingenuous enough to acknowledge this. — Du Pin *De Disciplinâ Ecclesiæ*, Dissert. I. n. 14.

(³⁹) Whoever will candidly read the Letters of St. Cyprian, and the controversy which arose between the Bishops of Africa and Stephen bishop of Rome, respecting Baptism, will, I think, admit the truth of my remark.

the state of celibacy, marriage was at this time permitted to all orders of the Clergy⁴⁰.

That although there were many *ascetics* among the Laity as well as among the Clergy, there were no Monks⁴¹.

That religious worship and adoration were offered to no creature, Saint, or Angel; but only to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost⁴².

That the Holy Communion of the body and blood of Christ was administered to the Clergy and to the people in both kinds⁴³.

(⁴⁰) Euseb. lib. vi. c. 42. Cypr. Ep. xlix. and a host of early writers; from whom it will be seen that the Clergy contracted marriages like other men.—BINGHAM'S *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book IV. ch. 5. sect. 5.

(⁴¹) Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 17. Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 62. n. 4. Bingham, *ibid.* Book VII. chap. 1.

(⁴²) Mr. Daillé, in the seventeenth century, collected the sentiments of the primitive Fathers upon this subject. The Rev. J. E. Tyler has also lately done so, in a very candid and useful treatise, entitled "Primitive Christian Worship, or The Evidence of Holy Scripture and the Church concerning the Invocation of Saints and Angels and the Blessed Virgin Mary."—Bingham's *Antiq. of the Christian Church*, Book XIII. ch. 3.

(⁴³) This is admitted, even by Cardinal Bona; one of the most strenuous defenders of the Romish Church. His words upon the subject are very remarkable: "It is very certain," he says, "that
"anciently, all in general, both Clergy and Laity, men and women,
"received

That nothing like the doctrine of Transubstantiation⁴⁴, or elevation of the host for Divine Worship⁴⁵, was known until many centuries after this period.

“ received the holy mysteries in both kinds, when they were presented at the solemn celebration of them; and they both offered, and were partakers. But out of the time of sacrifice, and out of the church, it was customary always, and in all places, to communicate only in one kind. In the first part of the assertion all agree, as well Catholics as Sectaries; nor can any one deny it, that has the least knowledge of Ecclesiastical affairs. For the Faithful, always and in all places, from the very first foundation of the Church to the twelfth century, were used to communicate under the species of bread and wine; and in the beginning of that age the use of the cup began by little and little to be laid aside, whilst many Bishops interdicted the people the use of the cup, for fear of irreverence and effusion.”—BONA, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. ii. c. 18.—See Bingham’s *Antiquities*, Book XV. ch. 5.

(⁴⁴) In the earlier part of the ninth century, inquisitive minds were fixed upon this subject, in consequence of a work by Paschasius Radbert, a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of Corbey in Picardy. His famous treatise may be supposed to have been written in the year 831; and gave rise to vehement controversy.—See Bingham’s *Antiquities*, Book XV. ch. 5. sect. 4. Bp. Cosin’s *History of Transubstantiation*, ch. 5. §. 29. Soames’s *History of the Reformation*, vol. III. ch. 2. p. 118.

(⁴⁵) Bingham, *ibid.* Book XV. ch. 5. sect. 5.

CHAPTER V

FROM A.D. 230, TO A.D. 300.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE STATE OF BRITAIN ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY—THE EMPERORS, MAXIMIN, GORDIAN III., AND PHILIP—CONVERSION OF PART OF GAUL DURING THE REIGN OF DECIUS—PROBUS, CARUS, DIOCLETIAN—CONSTANTIUS—CARAUSIUS USURPS THE SOVEREIGNTY OF BRITAIN—CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF CARAUSIUS—HIS COINS—ALLECTUS—BRITAIN RECOVERED BY CONSTANTIUS.

THE Romans had now been nearly 200 years in Britain. Much, indeed, of that time had been spent by them in establishing themselves in the country, and in defending themselves against the attacks of the natives. Since the time of Agricola, however, they had taken great pains to reconcile the Britons to the yoke, and to attach them to the interests of the empire: and certainly, if an advance in agriculture, commerce and the arts, and in every thing usually considered as constituting national wealth, can compensate a people for the loss of freedom, Britain was now in that situation. Instead of dreary forests and stagnant marshes; instead of the caves and hovels which were formerly

the abodes of men ; towns, supplied and adorned with the comforts and luxuries of life, had sprung up ; neat villages, and elegant villas, had multiplied on every side. In almost every quarter, south of the Wall of Severus, gardens, vineyards, and corn-fields, gladdened the eye. Numerous flocks and herds, and a breed of the finest horses in the world, were grazing in the pastures. The sound of the anvil and hammer resounded in the towns ; and hundreds of vessels, freighted with corn, skins, lead, tin, and other exports of the country, were sailing in our seas and navigable rivers. Money was circulated throughout the country in great abundance. The Romans began to intermarry with the Britons. Life and property were protected by wise laws and vigilant magistrates ; and all seemed indicative of prosperity. But the calm eye of the philosopher, and, much more, of the Christian, detected many latent springs of dissatisfaction and misery. Although the policy of Rome towards their subject provinces was liberal and enlightened, it was impossible that the native Briton could feel himself upon any thing like a level with his conquerors. The sense of personal independence, the hopes, vicissitudes, and dangers of life, which constitute so much of the barbarian's happiness, were now necessarily abandoned, and he was forced to

look to the Roman for protection and employment. Here, also, his energies were crippled or frustrated. Did he enter the army, he was not allowed to join the legions in Britain ; but was compelled to attach himself to, and to remain with, some force upon distant foreign service.

The best appointments connected with Law and with Commerce were bestowed upon the Roman : and although the Briton was encouraged to apply himself to eloquence and to the Arts, this was done more with a view to soothe the vanity of the latter, and to divert his attention from military pursuits and from reflecting too deeply upon his own condition, than from any wish to promote his real improvement. Britain, in fact, at this period, very much resembled Hindostan, when the latter country was first subjected to the English. Quæstors¹, collectors, and tax-gatherers, came after each other in rapid succession, retiring to spend in Rome the enormous fortunes they had wrung out of Britain.

(¹) Seneca had not been able to resist the temptations incident to such appointments, but had amassed a scandalous fortune in Britain.—Xiphilin. in Neron.—Camden's *Britannia*, Gough's edit. vol. II. p. 71.

The Pro-prætor, who was the representative of the Emperor, combined in his own person the highest judicial and military command. His usual residence was at York; which city, together with Lincoln, Chester, and several others, were Roman colonies; that is to say, establishments of veteran legionaries, whose tried services were rewarded by grants of land, held upon military tenure. The Pro-prætor lived in great pomp, attended by his Quæstor, Lieutenants, Tribunes, and a very numerous establishment of Civil and Military functionaries. He administered justice much in the same manner as did the Prætor at Rome. The laws were, however, modified, to meet the particular circumstances of the country. The Pro-prætor had the power of issuing edicts upon all important occasions. He held courts of justice in most of the great cities of Britain, through which he professed to make an annual circuit. Twenty of the most respectable men in the country were usually chosen by him to act as his Council; and his sentence was, generally, in accordance with their opinion. As the Latin language was used in all matters of a legal or official character, a considerable body of Interpreters attended the Pro-prætor and his Deputies.

In Verulamium, and one or two other towns, which were called *Municipia*, the citizens had the privilege of electing their own magistrates, and of being governed by their own laws ; although there is reason to believe that, latterly, these laws were very much derived from those in use among the Romans. The officer next in importance to the Pro-prætor was the Quæstor. His duty was, principally, to superintend the collection of the public revenue, from whatever source it might arise. This post was a very profitable as well as a very honourable one, and brought the person who held it into close connection with the Pro-prætor.

Although many laws were enacted to restrain and to punish the misconduct and exaction of the Roman functionaries, there can be no doubt that Britain was shamefully oppressed by them. When the Pro-prætor was a man of rapacious character, his example extended to his dependants. His Lieutenants, Tribunes, and Prefects, and even his freedmen and favourite slaves, lost no opportunity of plundering the abject Britons².

(²) Juvenal. viii. 87--130.

Although Alexander Severus had remitted a very great part of the tributes before exacted from Britain, their amount was still very considerable. The following were the chief sources of the Roman revenue, as derived from this country:—A certain proportion of the produce of all arable land, sometimes paid in money, and at other times in kind; a tax on orchards, pasture-grounds, and cattle; a part of the price of all slaves; a tax on mines, on houses, and household ornaments; an occasional poll- and a constant legacy-tax; portoria, *i.e.* duties laid on all goods imported or exported. These last were analogous to our modern Customs, and formed a very important branch of the revenue. Without entering, in this place, into the manner in which these various duties were collected, it may be sufficient to remark, that the extortion of the Publican, which had been so notorious in Judæa, had a very wide field for exertion in Britain³.

(³) The reader who wishes to obtain full information relative to the Roman revenues and system of taxation must consult Lipsius de Magnitud. Rom., Pet. Burmannus de Vectigal. Pop. Rom., and Heineccius Antiq. Rom.—With respect to Britain, many learned and ingenious observations are contained in Whitaker's History of Manchester, Book I. chap. 8.

Another sore grievance to the Britons must have arisen from the tyrannical conduct of the Roman soldiers. Although the discipline of the Imperial army was severe, instances of military oppression were of constant occurrence. Many burdens for the support of the troops were also laid upon the people, in the shape of forage and fuel. The wealthier cities paid large contributions for being exempted from furnishing winter-quarters to the army.

Most of the labour of the country was performed by slaves⁴: and though this class was in general not so degraded as it subsequently became under the Saxon and Norman rule, it was liable to great tyranny and oppression. An enlightened and benevolent man would naturally treat his slaves with much consideration; but there was little to repress the violence of a brutal and capricious master: and there can be no doubt that instances of great

(⁴) As the Romans considered all retail-trade as dishonourable, they did not keep shops themselves, but employed slaves and freedmen to manage such business for them. Their farms were cultivated by the Romans themselves, or by *Coloni*, Tenants, who were of free condition. *Villici*, Bailiffs, who were slaves or freedmen, were also employed to superintend them.

cruelty towards slaves were of frequent occurrence in Britain.

But the most painful spectacle to the Christian's eye must have been the Idolatry which still prevailed very extensively in the country. To see the mean man bowing down, and the mighty man humbling himself, to imaginary Beings, whose pernicious attributes were the very reverse of those which the Scriptures ascribed to Jehovah, must have grieved many a pious and fervent heart. Still, it must have been consoling, to reflect, that Christianity was advancing; that hitherto it had been exempt from persecution in this island; and that the time might come when something more than toleration would prevail; and when a Christian Emperor might prove an active instrument, in the hands of Providence, in converting the whole nation. That time, however, had not yet arrived; for the gentle Alexander—who, although not a Christian, was the friend of Christians—was hurried out of the world by one who was an enemy to every thing mild and peaceful, and who was the worshipper only of the Gods of War and destruction.

Never was there a greater contrast than that which existed between Alexander Severus, and

Maximin, who succeeded him. During the reign of this brutal Emperor, the Christians suffered severely in many parts of his dominions ; A.D. 235. for although his edicts were directed chiefly against the Bishops and Leaders of the Church, their consequences were much more extensive, and stimulated the Heathen Priest and Magistrate and people against the whole body of Christians. In those times, three years might be considered as the full average of the reign of an Emperor. Within that time the murder of Maximin placed several others on the throne, who fell in rapid succession, either by military turbulence or by A.D. 238. the hand of the private assassin. Of these short-lived Emperors, the third Gordian appears to have been a mild and interesting character. His marriage also with Furia Sabina Tranquilla, the daughter of Misitheus, and the genius and influence of that able Minister, were productive of the happiest effects. Whilst Misitheus lived, Gordian was esteemed by the people and beloved by the army.

A Votive Altar of a rude stone was found in Cumberland, ERECTED FOR THE HAPPY HEALTH OF THE EMPEROR GORDIAN THE THIRD, AND HIS WIFE, FURIA SABINA TRANQUILLA, AND THEIR WHOLE FAMILY, BY THE TROOPS OF HORSEMEN—SURNAMED AUGUSTA GORDIANA :

WHEN ÆMILIUS CRISPINUS, A NATIVE OF AFRICA, GOVERNED THE SAME, UNDER NONNIUS PHILIPPUS, who, as appears by the Consuls therein specified, was Lieutenant-General of Britain in the year of Our Lord 243.

I. O. M.

PRO SALVTE IMPERATORIS
M. ANTONI GORDIANI P. F.
INVICTI AVG. ET SABINIAE TR-
IAE TRANQVILE CONIVGI EIVS TO-
TAQVE DOMV DIVIN. EORVM A-
LA AVG. GORDIA. OB VIRTVTEM
APELLATA POSVIT: CUI PRAE EST
AEMILIVS CRISPINVS PRAEF.
EQQ. NATVS IN PRO AFRICA DE
TVIDRO SVB CVR. NONNII PH
LIPPI LEG. AVG. PROPRETO.
ATTICO ET PRETEXTATO
COSS.⁵

In the year 244, Philip the Arabian, who had succeeded to the Prefecture upon the death of Misitheus, estranged the affections of the army from

(⁵) I have copied the Inscription exactly from Camden; and enter into no defence of its Latinity, which is very barbarous.—
Britannia, Gough's edit. vol. III. p. 172.

Gordian, and secured them to himself. This subtle foreigner had learned valour and experience in the Roman armies, as he had previously imbibed treachery and cruelty from his own countrymen. His arts were fatal to Gordian, whose death immediately followed the elevation of Philip. Historians are divided upon the question, Whether the latter were a Christian? To me it appears certain that he nominally was so; but, that his professions were hypocritical, and merely adopted to further his political views.

The following Inscription, preserved by Camden⁶, was found upon a Column dug up near Thoresby in Cumberland. It is addressed to Philip and his Son:—

IMP. CAES.
M. IVL.
PHILIPPO
PIO FELI-
CI
AVG
ET M. IVL. PHI-
LIPPO NOBILIS
SIMO CAES
TR. P. COS.

A.D.
217.

(⁶) Britannia, Gough's edit. vol. III. p. 172.

The Emperor Philip fell from power by the same instruments which had raised him to it. Decius became the favourite of the army, and, in consequence, lord of the Roman Empire. This Prince possessed courage, temperance, and sagacity ; but he was prejudiced and vindictive. Although a native of Pannonia, he claimed descent from those Decii, who, in the times of Republican Rome, rendered themselves illustrious by their devotion to their country⁷. Proud of such ancestors, and bigotted to the worship of those Idols who, as he believed, had favoured and protected them, Decius became a most violent oppressor of the Christians. Rome, Carthage, Alexandria, Neocæsarea, and most other parts of the empire, now became the scenes of the most violent persecution.

It is singular, that, in times like these, the conversion of a large part of Gaul, in which the inhabitants were still heathen, should have been undertaken and accomplished. An account of the Bishops who were sent from Rome upon this most important Mission is given by Gregory of Tours, and, I think, cannot fail to interest the reader.

(⁷) His birth at Bubalia, a little village in Pannonia, might have occurred whilst his father held some public appointment in that country.

“ Hujus tempore septem viri Episcopi Ordinati
 “ ad prædicandum in Gallias missi sunt, sicut
 “ historia passionis sancti Martyris Saturnini de-
 “ narrat. Ait enim, Sub Decio et Grato Consulibus,
 “ sicut fidei recordatione retinetur, primum ac
 “ summum Tholosana civitas sanctum Saturninum
 “ habere cœperat sacerdotem. Hi ergo missi sunt :
 “ Turonicis, Gratianus episcopus ; Arelaten-
 “ sibus, Trophimus episcopus ; Narbonæ, A.D.
 “ Paulus episcopus ; Tholosæ, Saturninus 250.
 “ episcopus ; Parisiacis, Dionysius episcopus ; Ar-
 “ vernis, Stremonius episcopus ; Lemovicinis, Mar-
 “ tialis est destinatus episcopus⁸.”

(⁸) Greg. Episc. Turon. Hist. Ecc. Francorum, lib. i. c. 30.

“ In his time [*i. e.* of the Emperor Decius] seven men, Ordained
 “ Bishops, were sent into Gaul, to preach the Gospel, as the history
 “ of the passion of the holy Martyr Saturninus relates. For it
 “ tells, how that, during the Consulship of Decius and Gratus, as
 “ recorded by undoubted tradition, the city of Toulouse received
 “ the holy Saturninus as its first Priest and Bishop. The following
 “ are the names of the Bishops who were sent: Gratianus to
 “ Tours; Trophimus to Arles; Paulus to Narbonne; Saturninus
 “ to Toulouse; Dionysius to Paris; Stremonius to Auvergne;
 “ Martial to Limoges.”

Surely this passage proves the notion of Peter de Marca, who
 asserts that the Churches here specified were founded by the Apo-
 stles or their immediate followers, to be wholly visionary. Fabian,
 Bishop of Rome, appears to have sent the ecclesiastics mentioned
 by Gregory of Tours.

Another passage from Gregory of Tours relates to the proceedings of these Bishops and their followers ; and brings before us some very interesting particulars connected with the arrangements made for Public Worship in times when poverty prevented the Christians from erecting churches :—

“ De horum vero discipulis quidam Biturigas
 “ civitatem adgressus, salutare omnium, Christum
 “ dominum populis nuntiavit. Ex his ergo
 “ pauci admodum credentes, Clerici Ordinati A.D.
 “ ritum psallendi suscipiunt ; et qualiter ec- 251.
 “ clesiam construant, vel Omnipotenti Deo solemnia
 “ celebrare debeant, imbuuntur. Sed illis parvam
 “ adhuc ædificandi facultatem habentibus, civis cu-
 “ jusdam domum, de quâ ecclesiam faciant, expe-
 “ tunt. Senatores verò vel reliqui meliores loci,
 “ fanaticis erant tunc cultibus obligati ; qui verò
 “ crediderant, ex pauperibus erant, juxta illud Do-
 “ mini, quod Judæis exprobrat dicens, *quia mere-*
 “ *trices et publicani præcedent vos in regno Dei.* Hi
 “ verò non obtenta a quo petierant domo, Leoca-
 “ dium quemdam primum Galliarum Senatorem,
 “ qui de stirpe Vettii-Epagati fuit, quem Lugduno
 “ passum pro Christi nomine superiùs memora-
 “ vimus, reppererunt. Cui cùm petitionem suam
 “ et fidem pariter intimassent, ille respondit : ‘ Si

“ domus mea, quam apud Bituricam urbem habeo,
 “ huic operi digna esset, præstare non abnegarem.’
 “ Illi autem audientes, pedibus ejus prostrati, oblatis
 “ trecentis aureis cum disco argenteo, dicunt eam
 “ huic ministerio esse congruam⁹; qui acceptis de
 “ his tribus aureis pro benedictione, clementer
 “ indulgens reliqua, cum adhuc esset in errore
 “ idololatriæ implicitus, Christianus factus, domum
 “ suam fecit ecclesiam. Hæc est nunc ecclesia
 “ apud Biturigas urbem prima, miro opere com-
 “ posita, et primi martyris Stephani reliquiis inlus-
 “ trata¹⁰.”

(⁹) They offered him, it seems, for his house, a sum equal to about 250*l.* of our money, together with a silver dish.

(¹⁰) Greg. Epis. Turon. Hist. Ecc. Francorum, lib. i. c. 31.

“ One of their disciples visited the city of Bourges, and then
 “ preached to the people Christ the Lord, the salvation of all men.
 “ Some few of these who were believers, having been ordained,
 “ undertook the office of chanting; and were instructed in the
 “ method of building a church, and in what manner they ought to
 “ celebrate the rites of divine worship. Having at first no ade-
 “ quate means of erecting a church, they endeavoured to obtain a
 “ certain citizen’s house to make use of for that purpose. The
 “ senators, however, and other chief persons of the place, were
 “ still fast bound in the fetters of heathen superstition, the con-
 “ verts having been made from amongst the poor; thus making

Whilst these Missionaries were thus exerting themselves in Gaul, Fabian the bishop, who most probably had sent them thither, suffered martyrdom at Rome. After his death, the See of Rome was vacant for the next sixteen months; the vigilant persecution of Decius, during that time, preventing any fresh election. Cornelius and Lucius, the two succeeding bishops, underwent the fate of their predecessor.

“ good that saying of Our Lord, with which he upbraided the
“ Jews: ‘ The publicans and harlots shall enter into the kingdom
“ of heaven before you.’ When they were unable to obtain the
“ house they desired, they found a person named Leocadius, a
“ principal senator in Gaul, who was of the family of Vettius Epa-
“ gatus, whom we have before mentioned as having suffered for
“ Christ’s sake at Lyons. To him they made known their faith and
“ their petition; and he replied, that if his house at Bourges was
“ worthy of being applied to such a purpose, he would not refuse
“ to grant it. Upon hearing this, they threw themselves at his
“ feet; and offering him 300 aurei, with a silver dish, they assured
“ him that his house was suitable to their object. Hereupon he
“ accepted three aurei as a blessing, and generously forgave the
“ rest, whilst yet involved in the error of idolatry, and, having
“ become a Christian, converted his house into a church. This is
“ now the principal church in the city of Bourges, constructed
“ with admirable skill, and rendered illustrious by reliques of the
“ first martyr, Stephen.”

History has preserved no facts connected with Britain during the reigns of Gallus and Valerian. The number of tyrants who at once sprung up in the careless reign of Gallienus was, before the time of Gibbon, usually estimated at thirty; but that historian has judiciously curtailed it to nineteen. Several of these tyrants bore rule in Britain; and the coins of Posthumus, Lollianus Victorinus, Marius, and Tetricus, have been found here in great abundance. Tetricus appears to have been one of the most formidable of these usurpers: he held Spain, Gaul, and Britain during four years under his dominion, until these important provinces were wrested from him by the indefatigable Aurelian.

A.D.
271.

During the reign of Probus, Bonosus, by birth a Briton, a wretch notorious for his excesses in drinking, gave some trouble to the Roman Government. Being at length overcome in battle, Bonosus hung himself in despair; when one of the Roman soldiers, seeing him in this situation, and knowing his habits of drunkenness, called out to his comrades, "There hangs a tankard, and not a man!"

A.D.
280.

Historians have mentioned two remarkable cir-

cumstances connected with Britain during the reign of Probus. The one relates to the permission and encouragement given by that Emperor to the Britons in planting vineyards: the other, to a colony of Vandals and Burgundians, who, having capitulated to Probus, were sent by him from Gaul to cultivate the country in the neighbourhood of Cambridge; and who, subsequently, proved themselves most faithful servants of the State¹¹.

A.D.
281.

The brutal murder of Probus by the legions led to their election of Carus; whose reign, together with that of his two sons, extended to no longer a period than two years. The state of Rome, attacked as were its dominions, in every direction, by fierce and determined barbarians, now required the highest abilities and energies in the chief magistrate to defend and to save her. But, although such requisites appeared to unite in Diocletian, the new Emperor found himself unequal to sustain, singly, the vast weight of the empire; and his first important act was, to associate Maximin in the honours

A.D.
282.

A.D.
286.

(¹¹) Zosimus, lib. i. p. 62.

and labours of the Government. The extent and nature of the Roman dominions exposed them to such constant danger, that even this division of labour was not found sufficient; and some years afterwards it was judged expedient to add two more Rulers, with the inferior title of Cæsars, in order that they might guard and superintend the distant provinces. Accordingly, Galerius and Constantius were appointed to these very arduous offices. To the former was entrusted the care of the Illyrian provinces: to the latter, that of Gaul, Spain, and Britain.

A.D.
286.A.D.
292.

Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, and for many years the Ruler over Britain, was the son of Flavius Eutropius, one of the most considerable of the Nobles of Dardania. His mother was the niece of the Emperor Claudius. Although brought up to arms, and distinguished by his military abilities, Constantius was remarkable for his gentle and amiable disposition, and had long been regarded with great affection by the army. About the year 273 he had become acquainted with a young person of the name of Helena, and, being struck with her manners and disposition, had made her his wife, and, by her, became the father of

Constantine the Great. The country and family of Helena have given rise to many different opinions. Baronius, Usher, Stillingfleet, and a few more ancient writers, assert that she was the daughter of a British Prince named Coilus¹²; but such an extraction cannot be reconciled with truth. Constantius came not into Britain until the year 296; whereas his son Constantine was born twenty-four years before that period. Eutropius the historian states that Helena was of humble origin; and such I apprehend to have been the fact, as Eusebius, and other writers who are anxious to say all they can in praise of her, are silent upon this point. She was, in all probability, the daughter of an inn-keeper of Drepanum in Bithynia. Eminent as we know she was, in after-times, for piety, there is reason to believe that she was not a Christian until long after her marriage with Constantius¹³. It is,

(¹²) This notion did not get abroad until about the eleventh century. It is not countenanced by any of the most ancient Triads or other Records of Wales; nor is it mentioned by Gildas, Nennius, or Bede. Zosimus asserts that Helena was not the wife, but the concubine of Constantius; but Gibbon proves this to be a falsehood.

(¹³) Eusebius, in extolling the actions of the Emperor, would lead us to believe that, humanly speaking, the conversion of Helena was owing to her son Constantine. His words are :

^aO,

however, reasonable to suppose that she exerted herself in the education of her son, and that Constantine's character was mainly influenced by the lessons and example of his mother. In the course of time, ambition prevailing in the heart of Constantius over the affection which he must have cherished for this excellent person, he was induced to consent to the conditions annexed to his elevation—that of divorcing Helena, and marrying Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximin.

An arduous task was now confided to Constantius—that of the recovery of Britain from the hands of a very bold and able adventurer who had obtained possession of it. The circumstances which occasioned, and which are connected with this under-

Ὁν πρὸς τοῖς ἅπασιν, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν γειναμένην ὁσίας μακαρίζειν ἄξιον, οὕτω μὲν αὐτὴν θεοσεβῇ καταστήσαντα οὐκ οὔσαν πρότερον, ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖν ἐκ πρώτης τῷ κοινῷ Σωτῆρι μεμαθητεῦσθαι.
De Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. 47.

“ Whom it is fit we should style Blessed, besides all other things, even for this also, his piety towards her who brought him forth; whom he rendered so religious (she having before not been a worshipper of God), that she seemed from her tender years to have been disciplined by HIM himself, who is the common Saviour of all.”—*Old Translation.*

taking are so important, that I shall briefly state them here

Towards the close of the third century Britain had been much harassed by bands of Franks and Saxons, who, crossing in light vessels from parts of Germany and Gaul, laid waste and plundered the country. To repel and exterminate these pirates, who also very much interfered with the Roman trade, a fleet was stationed at Gesoriacum or Boulogne, and Carausius was appointed to command it. There are many opinions respecting the birth-place of this person. Richard of Cirencester thinks that he was a native of St. David's: Dr. Stukeley supposes him to have been descended from some of the Princes of Britain; Fordun assigns to him a Scottish extraction: but none of these conjectures are borne out by the statements of earlier writers. Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and Eumenius, among Latin, and Nennius and Bede among British authors, affirm that Carausius was a person of very mean extraction: and most of them state that he was a Menapian; that is, a native of the country now called Belgium. All allow that he was a most expert sailor, and possessed of daring courage and great abilities. He entered early into the naval service of Rome, as a pilot; and in that capacity, and

in others of a higher character, became intimately acquainted with the British seas; until at length his abilities were noticed by the Roman Emperors, and he was employed on the important service of guarding the navigation, and protecting the coasts of Gaul, Batavia, and Britain. Carausius, at first, exerted himself with extraordinary success against the pirates: but, in the course of time, it was found that his efforts were not always directed in behalf of the Public Service; for he often allowed the invaders to seize their booty, in order that he might afterwards attack them and secure it for himself. Alarmed by these proceedings, and at the altered tone which Carausius now assumed, Maximin would have cut short the career of the latter by assassination. But Carausius was apprised of his intentions, which he succeeded in frustrating.

Self-preservation, as well as ambition, seemed now to dictate a more determined and enlarged course of action. He sailed at once into Britain; which was at that time guarded by only one legion. Secure of the fleet, he soon engaged the affections of the army and of the people, and declared himself Emperor of Britain. Master as he was of the narrow seas, he possessed himself of some important places on the Continent of Europe; and made an

alliance with the Franks and Saxons, many of whom he employed in his fleet and army. Maximin, to whom more especially the government of the Western portion of the empire had been entrusted, was extremely disconcerted by the successful usurpation of Carausius, and collected an immense armament, for the purpose of recovering Britain. Having, however, sustained some heavy losses at sea, from the superior strength and vigilance of his adversary, Maximin deemed it expedient to come to a compromise, and to resign the sovereignty of Britain to the daring man who had assumed it without his permission¹⁴.

It was upon this occasion that Carausius struck those silver coins which represent two Emperors joining hands, with this inscription, *CONCORDIA AUGG.* There is in Camden the engraving of another of the coins of Carausius, upon which there is a very fine bold head bearing a crown, with an inscription signifying *Imperator Caius Carausius Pius Felix*

(¹⁴) “Cum Carausio tamen, cùm bella frustra tentata essent
“ contra virum rei militaris peritissimum, ad postremum pax con-
“ venit.” *Eutrop.* lib. ix. c. 22.

“ However, at last, since war was in vain attempted against a
“ man perfectly skilled in the military art, a peace was agreed
“ upon with Carausius.” J. CLARKE.

Augustus. Upon the reverse appears a female figure holding an olive-branch, with the words PAX AVG.¹⁵

However we must condemn the means by which Carausius arrived at the sovereignty of Britain, it is impossible not to admit the vigour and ability with which he exercised his power. While he maintained the dominion of the sea against all competitors, he secured the internal peace of the country. He repaired the wall between the Forth and Clyde, by adding to it seven castles and some other works. He repelled the Mæatae and Caledonians, and, having subdued these tribes, attached them to his interest; apprehending that he might one day require their assistance against the efforts of the Romans to depose him.

Meantime Carausius seems to have taken the greatest pains to conciliate the affections, not only of the Natives, but of the Roman soldiery and the Roman families in Britain. He constituted a Senate, and was himself, together with his son and some of his principal officers, several times Consul.

(¹⁵) Camden's *Britannia*, Gough's edit. vol. I. p. lxxii.

I have mentioned two of his coins ; but there are more than 300 others, most of which have been engraved by Dr. Stukeley. Out of these coins, that antiquary has endeavoured to form a Civil and Military History of Carausius. His essay on the subject is certainly ingenious ; but it is extremely fanciful, and in many places very incorrect : every one, however, who is desirous of being acquainted with the history of this period ought to look into it. As the reader may not have an opportunity of consulting Dr. Stukeley's work, I shall describe a few of the coins engraved by that enthusiastic admirer of Carausius.*

PLATE X. No. 5.—The obverse exhibits the Head of Carausius bearing a radiated crown. The reverse represents a Female Figure, supposed to be that of Astarte, holding a garland in one hand and a turreted head of Osiris in the other. Above are the letters PAX AVG.

PLATE XII. No. 3.—In the obverse appears a Bust of Carausius in the Consular-embroidered chlamys : in the reverse he is represented in the complete Consular robe, holding in his right hand the globe of empire, and in his left a scroll of vellum.

PLATE XIX. No. 3.—On the obverse appears the Head of Carausius. On the reverse is represented the Genius of Health, holding in her left hand a staff, and in her right a

* Stukeley's Medallie History of Carausius, Book II.

herb, over an altar, from which arises a snake. The letters B. E., in the area of the medal, signify *Britannicus Exercitus*, and shew that this money was intended for presents to the soldiery. The letters MLXXI, forming the exergue, signify *Monetarium Londinense Collegium XXI*.

PLATE XX. No. 1. represents a Silver Coin. On the obverse is the Bust of Carausius, in a corslet, helmeted, with a radiate crown. In the right hand is a spear held over the shoulder; a shield on the left arm. Around the bust are the words CARAVSIVS AVG. On the reverse, Carausius appears on horseback: before him is a captive: around are the words ADVENTVS AVG.

PLATE XXII. No. 4.—The reverse exhibits a very spirited Figure of Carausius, helmeted, and in armour. A spear poised fit for action is in his right hand: his left holds forth the globe of empire, as being ready to contend for it. Above are the words SAECVLI FELICIT. In the area, the letters S. P. denote *Sacra Pecunia*, i.e. ‘Money devoted to the charge of Religious Solemnities.’ The letter C, in the exergue, shews that the money was struck at Cata-ractonium.

PLATE XXV. No. 5.—The reverse represents a Female Figure, with a branch in one hand, and a staff in the other. Above are the words PAX AVG. In the area are the letters L. O., signifying *Legati Officinators*, i.e. the Chief Officer of the Legate’s Mint.

PLATE XXVI. No. 7.—Circumscribed in the obverse are the letters IMP. M. AVR. V. CARAVSIVS P. AVG.; signifying *Imperator Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius Pius Augustus*.

Although Dr. Stukeley is of a different opinion, I think all the names attached by Carausius to his own name were originally adopted and retained by him in honour of his patron, M. A. V. Maximinus.

Many of these coins are of extremely good workmanship : others are meanly executed, by artificers who lived in remote parts of the kingdom. While Carausius thus encouraged these and other ingenious arts, he remitted no exertions of the statesman and the warrior. Nothing can more fully prove the maritime strength and resources of Britain, under an able Ruler; than the fact, that Carausius for seven years bade defiance to the Roman Power ; and, at the end of that time, fell, not overcome by the Imperial forces, but by private treachery¹⁶. Never before, nor until several hundred years after this period, was the country firmly united under the government of one independent sovereign. It is generally admitted that the term during which Carausius reigned was one productive of great prosperity to Britain. We trace his name in the Carsdike of Cambridge ; and the remains of several other works of great labour,

(¹⁶) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 6.

in different parts of the country, attest the general usefulness and activity of his government. Such was the formidable person against whom the Romans were now to conduct the war. The Emperor Maximin exerted himself actively to further the designs which Constantius was to carry into execution. Orders were issued for the equipment of a fleet of a thousand sail from the naval magazines on the Rhine : a proportionate army was also levied. While these preparations were going on, Constantius besieged Carausius in Boulogne. A vast mole thrown across the harbour prevented any relief by water from being admitted into the town, which, after an obstinate defence, was compelled to surrender. Carausius, however, had previously, in the dead of night, broken through the Roman camp with a few determined followers, and, embarking in a small vessel, reached Britain in safety. The subsequent operations of Constantius against the naval forces of the Franks and Saxons, although they retarded the execution of his plans, were completely successful. Carausius, in the mean time, was not idle. He made the best arrangements to intercept, to receive, and to repel the Romans, whensoever they should undertake the invasion of Britain. He strengthened and disciplined his fleet and army by every means in his power. The

defence and attack of Britain being conducted by two such eminent commanders, it was impossible to determine what the issue of the struggle might have been to Britain. But private treachery, which is often so much more dangerous than open warfare, proved fatal to Carausius. He was murdered by Allectus, a wretch whom he raised to one of the highest posts in the country and trusted as his dearest friend. The assassin succeeded to his power, which (although he possessed not the abilities to make the best use of it) he held for three years¹⁷.

Many of his coins are yet extant: one of these has been engraved by Camden¹⁸. It bears on one side a Crowned Head, with this inscription around it: IMP. C. ALECTVS P. F. AVG. On the reverse is the representation of a Ship, with the words VIRTVS AVG. above; and the letters Q. L., signifying the Quæstor of London, below it.

Circumstances had for some time prevented Constantius from carrying into effect the plans which

(¹⁷) Eumen. Panegy. viii. — Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. 6. — Eutrop. lib. ix. c. 22.

(¹⁸) Britannia, Gough's edit. vol. I. p. lxxii.

he had formed for the invasion of Britain. It was not until the year 296 that he was enabled to sail upon this important enterprise. He had separated the armament into two divisions, in order to distract the enemy, by making a descent upon different parts of the coast at the same time. A.D.
296. Asclepiodotus, his Prefect, commanded one of these divisions; the other he led in person. A thick fog favoured the designs of the invaders. After escaping the fleet of Allectus, which had been stationed to intercept them, they disembarked on the shores of Kent. Asclepiodotus and his forces landed before the other division. The first act of this officer was to set fire to his ships, in order that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy, and that his own men might depend upon victory only for their safety. Allectus, who had been directing the operations of the fleet, finding that the enemy had escaped him, landed as soon after them as he was able, and, placing himself at the head of all the troops he could collect, met Asclepiodotus in battle; in which, after a desperate conflict, he was slain.

A considerable band of foreign mercenaries, who had come over to assist Allectus, being apprised of his fate, began to plunder London, hoping to be able

to escape with their booty. They were, however, suddenly encountered by Constantius, who, with the larger division of his army, had marched towards London immediately after their landing. The plunderers, meeting with these unexpected assailants, were soon routed and slain; and Constantius now found himself undisputed master of Britain.

The rule of Allectus had been very differently conducted from that of Carausius; so that the people had no affection, and very little respect for his authority. The Roman soldiers, and Roman families in Britain, as well as the Natives themselves, were acquainted with the excellent character of Constantius; who was now hailed by the country as a guardian and deliverer, rather than as a conqueror¹⁹. Henceforth, until his death, a great part of his time was spent in Britain²⁰; and although, while he held the inferior rank of Cæsar, he could not prevent the severe enactments of Maximin, Galerius, and Diocletian from taking effect, he was often able to modify and restrain them. The country prospered very much

(¹⁹) Eumen. Panegy. VIII. ; Gibbon ; Camden ; Henry, &c.

(²⁰) Κωνστάντιον, ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλλεῖς ἔθνεσιν ὄντα, καὶ τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ συνεχέστερον ἐνδημοῦντα.—Zosim. lib. ii.

under Constantius's administration ; the seas were cleared of pirates ; the freedom of navigation was restored ; commerce, agriculture, and the Arts flourished extremely ; and, above all, the persons and property of his subjects were respected and protected²¹.

(²¹) Eutropius bears this noble testimony to the virtues of Constantius:—" Vir egregius et præstantissimæ civilitatis, divitiis " provincialium (mel. *provinciarum*) ac privatorum studens, fisci " commoda non admodum affectans ; ducensque meliùs publicas " opes a privatis haberi, quam intra unum claustrum reservari." Lib. x. c. l.

" An excellent man, and of extraordinary urbanity ; anxious to " promote the wealth of the provinces and of individuals ; not " much regarding the improvement of his exchequer ; and thinking " it better that the wealth of the community should still be kept " in private hands than reserved in one treasury."

Constantius carried the observance of this maxim so far, that, according to Eutropius, when he gave a large entertainment, he was himself obliged to borrow ; and his dining-rooms were furnished with the plate of his subjects, fetched from their houses.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM A.D. 303, TO A.D. 337.

PERSECUTION UNDER DIOCLETIAN, BEGUN IN NICOMEDIA, EXTENDED TO BRITAIN—MARTYRDOM OF ALBANUS, AMPHIBALUS, AND OTHERS—CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS EMPERORS—CONSTANTIUS DIES AT YORK—CONSTANTINE THE GREAT RECEIVES TITLE OF CÆSAR THERE—HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY—DEFEAT OF MAXENTIUS—THE DONATISTS—COUNCIL AT ARLES, A.D. 314, ATTENDED BY THREE BRITISH BISHOPS—CANONS OF THAT COUNCIL—CONSTANTINE SOLE EMPEROR—HE DIRECTS THE NECESSARY MEANS TO BE PROVIDED FOR REPAIRING, ENLARGING, AND BUILDING CHURCHES—ARIUS—COUNCIL OF NICE—CANONS OF THE COUNCIL—THEIR BEARING UPON THE CUSTOMS AND PRACTICE OF THE BRITISH CHURCH—BAPTISM AND DEATH OF CONSTANTINE.

ALTHOUGH the disposition of Diocletian was more subtle than cruel or superstitious, the end of his reign was stained by the infamy of the most violent persecution that the Christians had ever experienced. His colleagues in the empire, Maximin and Galerius, themselves bigotted Pagans and merciless men, represented the apparent decline in the energies and allegiance of the people as proceeding from the alarming progress of Christianity; and advised extreme measures of severity, to check and

abolish the religion. Their importunity at length prevailed over the more moderate counsels of Diocletian; and on the 24th of February, in the year 303, the persecution of the Christians commenced, in the city of Nicomedia. The ministers and principal officers of Diocletian, attended by a numerous body of guards and pioneers, in the first instance, overthrew the principal church of the city¹; thus giving both sanction and example to the destruction of similar buildings in every part of the empire. On the following day the general edict of persecution was promulged. By this instrument, it was enacted that the Christian churches should everywhere be destroyed; that persons holding secret religious assemblies should be punished with death; that the ecclesiastical revenues should be confiscated; that freemen professing the Christian Religion should be incapable of office, honour, and employment; and that Christian slaves should for ever be deprived of the hopes of freedom. It was also most iniquitously specified, that judges should hear and determine every action brought against the Christians; while the obnoxious party were not allowed to bring a complaint against any

A.D.
303.

(¹) Lactantius de Mort. Persecut. c. 12.

injuries which themselves had sustained. The Christian who first suffered in consequence of this edict was one whose zeal excited him to manifest his execration of it. This person tore down and destroyed the proclamation which had been affixed to one of the most conspicuous buildings of Nicomedia. The pains of death had been foreseen by this self-devoted adherent to Christianity, who, when committed to the flames, expressed his triumph for the deed.

The same unfounded cause which, in the reign of Nero, had occasioned such sufferings to the Christians, now produced similar effects. Fifteen days after the promulgation of the edict, the Imperial palace at Nicomedia was discovered to be on fire, and Diocletian himself nearly perished in the flames. Suspicion now fell upon the Christians. Diocletian knew how much he had injured them; and his fears and suspicions instigated him to detect their alleged, and to prevent their apprehended hostility, by every method, however cruel. Imprisonment, torture, and death, were resorted to, both to discover the conspiracies with which they were charged, and to terrify them into submission. But although, among the numbers of Christians then resident in Nicomedia, there must have been some heated

enthusiasts, and some evil-disposed persons, not the slightest evidence transpired to implicate them in this horrible charge.

Although Diocletian's edict was intended to be enforced against the Christians throughout the empire, fifty days elapsed in Syria, and nearly four months in Africa, before it was made known. This delay has reasonably been imputed² to the cautious temper of Diocletian, who was desirous of witnessing the effects of the persecution in his own immediate neighbourhood before he extended it to the distant provinces. Exasperated, however, by the fire, and by some other adverse circumstances which were laid to the charge of the Christians, Diocletian at length fully acquiesced in the system of persecution recommended by Galerius. A series of edicts were issued, all more violent than the first, and apparently aimed at the very existence of the Christian name. The extent of persecution experienced by the Christians, in consequence of these enactments, was different in different places; but everywhere numbers were exposed to banishment and various kinds of suffering and death.

(²) Gibbon, in particular.

Constantius, however desirous to protect the Christians of Gaul and Britain, was unable to resist the commands of his superiors in the empire ; and there is no doubt that great numbers in both countries suffered death in consequence of their religion. Gildas³ states, that this persecution continued nine years in some countries. The summer of the year 303 is now generally assigned as the commencement of this persecution in Britain. A.D. 303. The storm must have fallen with great severity upon York, London, Verulam, and the other principal cities. The churches were everywhere destroyed, and a great number of Christians driven to the woods and deserts for shelter and concealment⁴. Amongst those who sealed the testimony of their faith by their blood, the most remarkable were Albanus, Amphibalus, Julius, and Aaron. The accounts of the martyrdom of Albanus are full of prodigies. Usher has taken the greatest pains to collect almost every thing that has been said on the subject ; and a more curious mass of fable and contradiction, under which to bury geography, history, and chronology, was scarcely ever heaped together. Carefully endeavouring to sift truth from

(³) Gildæ Hist. Brit. §§. 9--12.

(⁴) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 8.

error and exaggeration, I venture to give the following account of Albanus and his fellow-martyrs.

Although of Roman descent, Albanus appears to have been a native of Verulam. He is said to have served seven years abroad, in the armies of Diocletian. Returning to Britain, he was struck by the singular piety of an ecclesiastic named Amphibalus⁵, whom he invited to reside with him at his house in Verulam, and by whom he was converted to the faith of the Gospel. The edict of the Emperors against the Christians having reached Britain, was carried into effect by the different Authorities in most parts of the country. Anxious to protect and conceal his guest, whose religious profession was well known, when soldiers were sent to seize Amphibalus, Albanus, clothed in the habit of an ecclesiastic, presented himself before them. He was immediately conducted before the Pro-prætor⁶,

(⁵) Bede does not give his name; but most of our old writers call him Amphibalus.

(⁶) He is called "the Judge" by Bede; but that writer must mean *the Pro-prætor*, whose title, and much of whose authority, continued during the rule of Carausius and of Constantius; and were not abolished until the time of Constantine, when Britain was placed under the Vicar of the Prætorian Prefect of Gaul.

whom he found engaged in offering up sacrifice to the Idols of Rome. Enraged at the conduct of Albanus, the Pro-prætor commanded that he should be dragged up to the images of these false gods; at the same time exclaiming, "Because you have sheltered and concealed a sacrilegious and rebellious person, and prevented him from suffering the punishment due to him as a contemner of the gods, yourself shall undergo that punishment, if it be true that you are guilty of the same offences." Albanus, appearing to be wholly undismayed by these and other menaces, the Pro-prætor sternly inquired of what family or race he was. "That," answered Albanus, "it cannot concern you to know. But, if you wish to be informed as to my religion, be it known unto you that I am a Christian, and bound by Christian duties⁷." "I ask your name," said the Judge; "tell it me immediately." "I am called Albanus by my parents," he replied; "and I worship the Living and True God, who created all things." Then the Judge, inflamed with anger, said, "If you will enjoy happiness and continued

(⁷) This was the usual manner in which the Christians of those times answered such interrogations. Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical writers, give several instances of it.

life, delay not to offer sacrifice to the great gods." Albanus rejoined: "These sacrifices can avail nothing to those to whom they are offered ; who are really devils, and who are utterly unable to answer the wishes and desires of their worshippers. On the contrary, whosoever shall offer sacrifice to such idols shall receive everlasting punishment in hell." The Judge, incensed by these expressions, commanded the executioners to scourge the prisoner, supposing that he might thus be able to shake that constancy of heart over which he could not prevail by words. Albanus endured his sufferings, not only patiently, but with joy. The Judge, perceiving that nothing could overcome his steadfastness, ordered him to be conducted to the place of execution. He was, accordingly, led forth from the city, and beheaded upon a neighbouring hill⁸; where, in after-times, a stately and beautiful abbey was built in honour of the martyr, in the town which also bears his name. Out of the numerous verses addressed to the memory of St. Alban, I select the following ; which, however, have but little to recommend them :—

(⁸) The above account of the martyrdom of Albanus is principally taken from Gildas and Bede.

“ Hie est, martyrii roseo decoratus honore,
 “ Albanus, civis, inclyta Roma, tuus.”⁹

“ Here, ever fresh in martyr’s honour’d bloom,
 “ Lies Alban, citizen of far-famed Rome.”

“ Ave Protomartyr Anglorum,

“ Miles Regis Angelorum ;

“ O Albane, flos martyrum ! ”¹⁰

“ Martyrdom’s flower, prime martyr of the Angles,
 “ Hail, Alban ! soldier of the King of Angels.”

Soon after the execution of Alban, it appears that Amphibalus¹¹ either surrendered himself to the Roman authority, or was taken prisoner by them ; and that, with nine of his Christian associates, he was put to death in the neighbourhood of St. Alban’s¹². About the same time, Aaron and

(⁹) Alex. Necchamus de Verolamio suo canens, as cited by Usher.

(¹⁰) Breviar. Sarisbur. in Officio S. Albani.

(¹¹) “ Bacchatur sanctos dum Maximianus in omnes,

“ Albanus martyr Amphibalusque cadunt.”

Johannes de Garlandia.

“ While raging Maximin keeps saints in thrall,

“ Amphibalus and Alban martyrs fall.”

(¹²) “ Non multò post passionem B. Albani martyrizatus est
 “ S. Amphibalus, cum novem sociis suis apud villam de Redburn,
 “ per tria millia à villâ S. Albani.” THOMAS RUDBURNUS in *Major.*
Hist. lib. i. c. 5.

Julius, two citizens of Caerleon, and many others in different places, both men and women, suffered in the same glorious cause¹³.

In the year 305, one of those extraordinary occurrences took place to which the history of the world does not afford more than three or four parallels; I mean, the abdication of the empire by Diocletian. Declining health, satiety of power, and an oppressive sense of the exertions necessary to maintain the increasing weight of empire, were probably the causes which urged Diocletian to adopt this measure. His colleague,

A.D.
305.

(¹³) Hector Boece and John Pitts relate many marvellous things of Amphibalus, and the other Martyrs of the times. The following statement, by Giraldus Cambrensis, seems worthy of attention:

“Jacent hîc duo nobiles, et post Albanum et Amphibalum
 “præcipui Britannîæ majoris Protomartyres, et ibidem martyrio
 “coronati, Julius scilicet et Aaron; quorum uterque ecclesiam
 “in urbe insignem habebat suo nomine decoratam. Tres enim
 “egregiæ in hac urbe antiquis temporibus fuerunt ecclesiæ. Una
 “Julii martyris; virgineo Deo dicatarum regularium choro venustata. Altera vero beati Aaron socii ejusdem nomine fundata, et Canonicorum ordine præclaro nobilitata. Tertia, verò, Metropolitana sede Cambriæ totius insignita.”—GIRALD. CAMBREN.
Itiner. Cambriæ, lib. i. c. 5.

“Julius and Aaron, after suffering martyrdom, were buried in
 “this

Maximin, although with great difficulty, was prevailed upon to follow his example.

Upon the abdication of Diocletian and Maximin, their supreme stations were occupied by the two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius; each of whom now assumed the title of Augustus. Although invested with higher dignity and more absolute power, the amiable Constantius continued to administer his ancient department of Gaul and Britain. Happy were the people who enjoyed the benefit of his rule, unrestrained by any superior authority! The Christians, in particular, had occasion to

“ this city, and had each a church dedicated to him. After
 “ Albanus and Amphibalus, they were esteemed the chief Proto-
 “ martyrs of Britannia Major*. In ancient times there were three
 “ fine churches in this city: one dedicated to Julius the Martyr,
 “ graced with a choir of Nuns; another to Aaron his associate,
 “ and ennobled with an order of Canons; and the third distin-
 “ guished as the Metropolitan See of Wales.”

* “ Giraldus says that there were formerly three fine churches in the
 “ city of Caerleon; and mentions two of the Saints to whom they were
 “ dedicated. I am inclined to think that two of them were in the neigh-
 “ bourhood of Caerleon; and not within the walls, whose limits were too
 “ confined to admit of so many ecclesiastical establishments.”

Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales, A. D. 1188,
 by GIRALDUS DE BARRI. *Translated and Illustrated by*
 Sir R. C. HOARE, *Bart.* vol. i. p. 104.

rejoice under his administration. They possessed his confidence and protection. Persecution was altogether extinguished. The churches were everywhere rebuilt, and the offices of Religion openly resumed¹⁴. It would be satisfactory to be able to state that a Prince so amiable as Constantius, and so favourably inclined towards the Christians, was himself enlightened by the truths of the Gospel. Several writers have asserted that he was so ; but truth compels us to believe that the fact was otherwise. Constantius appears to have been one of those who were greatly struck by the account of Our Saviour's life and actions, and by the excellent conduct of many of his followers. Without embracing the Christian Religion in its purity, he was probably content with adopting some of its doctrines, and with placing Jesus Christ among the objects of his adoration. The great drawback to

(¹⁴) "When the storm of persecution ceased," says Bede, "the faithful Christians, who during the time of danger had hidden themselves in woods and deserts and secret caves, appearing in public, rebuilt the churches which had been levelled with the ground ; founded, erected, and finished the temples of the holy martyrs, and, as it were, displayed their conquering ensigns in all places ; celebrated festivals ; and performed their sacred rites with clean hearts and mouths." — *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. 8. See also *Hist. Gildæ*, §. 12.

the happiness which his subjects enjoyed under the government of this Prince arose from his well-known bodily infirmities. Anxiously did the Gauls and Britons listen to every report of his health, and anticipate the calamities which his death would probably bring upon them.

Constantius was now most anxious to see his eldest son. The repudiation of Helena by the former had probably been deeply resented by Constantine. Instead of attending his father in the West, he remained, a soldier of fortune, in the army of Diocletian. But the endowments of Constantine, both mental and bodily, were so great, that he scarcely needed the favour of powerful relations to secure his advancement. Tall and majestic in his appearance, robust in his frame and constitution, he was expert in every military exercise ; and his fearless heart enabled him to employ his resources, and exert his strength, upon those sudden emergencies which are ever occurring in a soldier's life. His merit soon raised him to the rank of a Tribune of the first order. But his reputation and popularity exposed him to the jealousy of Galerius, who is supposed to have meditated his destruction. His father, at this time labouring under sickness, and probably feeling that he had not long to live,

earnestly desired the presence of Constantine in Britain. After many evasions on the part of Galerius, permission was given to Constantine to comply with his father's request, and he had the happiness to reach York while Constantius yet lived. Eusebius tells us, that the sick father leapt from his bed to embrace his son, and returned thanks to God that he had been spared to behold him. Constantius expired at York, in the Imperial palace, on the 25th July, A.D. 306; fifteen months only after he had been advanced to the title of Augustus, and nearly fourteen years and a half after he had obtained the rank of Cæsar¹⁵.

A.D.
306.

The high esteem in which Constantius had been held by the Roman army, and by the people of Britain, rendered the accession of his son, Constantine, to his high authority the natural and almost necessary consequence of his father's death. The real or affected reluctance of Constantine to assume the purple increased the general enthusiasm in his favour. After much hesitation and resistance, his

(¹⁵) Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. cap. 24. Zosimus, lib. ii. Philostorgius, lib. i. c. 5. Anonymus Valesianus, et Nicephorus, lib. vii. c. 18 & 19. Eusebii de Vit. Constantini, lib. i. cap. 21. Eutropius, lib. x. cap. i.

scruples were at length overcome ; and Constantine, in the fullest vigour of mind and body, was invested with his father's authority. Galerius, although extremely incensed at his elevation, was unable to oppose it ; and was reluctantly compelled to bestow upon him the title of Cæsar, reserving that of Augustus for his favourite Severus. A new æra had now dawned upon the Christian world. A personage, the most distinguished of his age for ability and valour, the son of a royal father, who had himself been most favourable to the Christians, was now one of the Sovereigns of the Roman Empire. Most of his colleagues were, indeed, his rivals, and all of them enemies to Christianity. Still, the station he had gained was nearly as powerful as theirs ; and every thing was to be hoped from the ascendancy of his genius, and the favourable aid of Providence.

Such were the circumstances under which Constantine the Great began his auspicious reign, at York, in the year 306. It is, I think, relative to his accession, and not to his birth, that we must apply the words of his panegyrist, Eumenius : “ O fortunate Britain, more happy than all other lands ! “ for thou hast first beheld Constantine Cæsar ¹⁶.”

(¹⁶) Eumen. Panegyri. 9.

After paying the last honours to his father's remains, the new Emperor stayed some time in Britain, in order to make several important arrangements relative to the management of the country, and to conclude the war which had been successfully begun against the Mæataë and Caledonians. He then sailed to Gaul, making Arles for several years his principal residence. The stupendous remains of an amphitheatre, and many other monuments, still attest the partiality of Constantine to that city.

Notwithstanding the favour which Constantine continued to shew towards the Christians, it was not until the year 312 that he professed himself a convert to their Religion. When we consider the causes which are said to have produced, and the consequences that followed that event, we cannot but regard it as one of the most remarkable in history. Intimately connected as it is with the extension of Christianity in every part of the Roman world, it becomes necessary to say something of that conversion.

The tyranny of Maxentius having at length become intolerable to the inhabitants of Rome, they sent an embassy to Constantine, requesting him to interpose in their behalf, and hasten to their assis-

tance. Accordingly, towards the end of the year 311, he entered Italy with an army of 90,000 foot and 8000 horse, collected from Gaul, Germany, and Britain. This force, however, from the garrisons he was obliged to establish, and the detachments which were required in different places, was reduced to about 40,000 men, long before he arrived in the neighbourhood of Rome. The situation of Constantine was now one of great anxiety and peril. Maxentius, although individually wanting in energy and talent, was supported by an army four times more numerous than his own. The two other Emperors, Maximin and Licinius, were eagerly watching the event; and probably would unite to crush him, if defeated by Maxentius. The approaching battle must decide whether added life and empire were to be Constantine's, with the power of carrying into effect all the mighty plans he had conceived; or whether he was to fall beneath the power of his rivals. Such a position presenting itself in fullest force to the sensitive mind of Constantine, produced a train of the most solemn reflections. How was he to meet the impending danger? It was usual with Princes, upon such emergencies, to seek the protection of those Powers whom they believed superior to man. It was known that Maxentius had summoned to his assis-

A.D.
311.

tance the arts and incantations of magic. Constantine reflected deeply upon the possible advantage to be derived from such practices, and upon the supposed nature and attributes of the Heathen Deities in general. He felt the vanity of trusting to such auxiliaries. He was, nevertheless, convinced that there must be some Power supreme, over the fates and fortunes of individuals, as well as over the universe¹⁷. He offered up his prayer, that his cause might be assisted by that Power, and his mind enlightened by that wisdom, which he believed to be omniscient and almighty. Such were his feelings, when his army was drawn out in array a short time before the Battle of Saxa Rubra. What followed, he stated, long afterwards, to Eusebius; confirming it with an oath. On his march, he saw, together with his whole army, a luminous Cross in the sky, above the mid-day sun, with the inscription, "IN THIS CONQUER."¹⁸

A.D. 312.

(¹⁷) The state of Constantine's mind at this critical period of his life is related at considerable length by Eusebius, in his *Life of the Emperor*, and will be found to accord with the account I have given above.

(¹⁸) Euseb. de *Vitâ Constantini*, lib. i. cap. 28.

Various dates have been assigned for the appearance of this prodigy. Balusius, Pagi, and others, think that it occurred on the

7th

I am not one of those who wish to overload the history of Christianity with unnecessary or doubtful miracles, nor am I prepared to defend the inconsistencies or the crimes of Constantine. But when I reflect that he was the most powerful agent ever employed by Providence, among the laity, to strengthen and extend Christianity; and when I call to mind how often it has pleased God to interpose miraculously in the cause of His holy Religion; I own that I cannot resolve the Emperor's account into fiction and perjury. His imagination may probably have heightened some of the circumstances which he related to Eusebius. The vision of Jesus Christ appearing to him on the ensuing night with that sign which had been shewn him in the heavens, and directing him to frame a Standard like it, which he should use as a salutary defence in his engagements with his enemies, may have been the effect of previous excitement; but I have little doubt that a preternatural appearance in the heavens, of a character so likely to produce the

7th of November: but as the battle which decided the fate of Maxentius took place, according to Gibbon, on the 28th of October, it is probable that the preternatural Cross was seen by Constantine some days previously. Zosimus mentions an ominous circumstance which happened before the battle, lib. ii.

strongest effect upon a warrior, was actually seen, or imagined, by the Emperor, and by a great part of his army. The *Labarum*, or Standard of the Cross, which he forthwith ordered to be constructed, and which he ever afterwards so triumphantly displayed, affords a strong proof of his sincerity. Some very extraordinary impression must have been made on the mind of Constantine, before he could have ventured to raise, as an object of reverence, that symbol which had before been associated in the minds of the Romans with torture, guilt, disgrace, and horror.

The defeat, flight, and death of Maxentius rendered Constantine the immediate master of Rome. He entered the city amidst the acclamations of the multitude, and stained not his victory by any unnecessary act of severity¹⁹. After passing about three months in Rome, the troubled state of the Celtic provinces called him into Gaul; whence he proceeded to various places in Greece and Italy,

(¹⁹) Zosimus says: Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὕτως ἐκβᾶσιν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ὀλίγοις μὲν τισὶ ἐπιτηδαιοτάτων Μαξεντίῳ δίκην ἐπέθηκε. Lib. ii.

“ Upon this occasion, Constantine punished but very few, and “ they were some of Maxentius’s best friends.”—*Old Translation*.

never being able to remain long in any one residence. Notwithstanding the incessant demands upon his time and attention which his vast dominions required, Constantine seems, henceforth, to have taken a great interest in all questions relative to the Church. The nature and extent of his faith in Christianity, at this period, have given rise to much difference of opinion. He certainly remained in the state of a catechumen until immediately before his death; and although we must condemn the scruples which induced him, and many others, so long to defer baptism, there is no reason to question the sincerity of his religious professions.

The death of Galerius, of Maxentius, and Maximin, and the alliance of Licinius²⁰ with Constantine, had removed many important obstacles to the extension of the Gospel; but, unhappily, several subjects of religious disagreement now arose. There was one in particular, which at this time excited great attention;—I allude to the schism of the

(²⁰) The persecution of the Christians by Licinius, which was *suspended* during the term of his reconciliation with Constantine, broke out again upon the renewal of the quarrel between these two Emperors; but was extinguished by the final overthrow and death of Licinius, in the year 324.

Donatists, which was long the source of great discord and reproach to the Church in Africa, and which originated in the following circumstances. After the death of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, the greater part of the clergy and people of that city chose Cæcilian for his successor. The Numidian Bishops, indignant that their consent to this election had not been obtained, and that they should have been excluded from the solemn ceremony of consecration, assembled soon afterwards at Carthage ; and summoned Cæcilian before them, in order that he might give an account of his conduct relative to these proceedings. Cæcilian, refusing to submit to the judgment of the Numidians, was condemned and deposed by them in a Council consisting of seventy prelates ; and his Deacon, Majorinus, was chosen Bishop of Carthage in his stead. Gross corruption was practised upon this occasion, and large sums of money were distributed by the adherents of Majorinus, to support his cause. The Numidians were headed by Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ, from whom the faction has probably derived its name²¹. With this unjust and violent opposition to the appointment of Cæcilian the

(²¹) Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Cent. iv. Part ii. chap. 5.

Donatists joined some very serious doctrinal errors. Asserting themselves to be the only orthodox Churchmen, they maintained, not only that heresy and schism, but that personal sins invalidated the sacred functions. Considering the blessings arising from the Sacraments as the effect of prayer, and connecting this with the declaration that the prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord, they argued, that the efficacy of the Sacraments depended entirely upon the character of the Minister by whom those holy rites were celebrated. After much time spent in the expression of the most presumptuous and uncharitable sentiments, and in open violence, the Donatists brought their controversy before Constantine. The conduct of the Emperor upon this occasion appears in a very amiable point of view. It was sensible, moderate, and impartial. He commanded Cæcilian to repair to Rome, with ten of the Bishops who accused him, and ten of those whom that prelate might judge necessary for his defence. Miltiades²² bishop of Rome; Reticus, Maternus, and Marinus, bishops of Cologne, Autun, and Arles, who are styled the colleagues of Miltiades; were also summoned upon

(²²) Miltiades, or Melchiades, died soon afterwards.

this occasion. Out of the number thus summoned, nineteen appear to have assembled at Rome. The decision of this Council, which was every way favourable to Cæcilian, was represented by the Numidian Bishops as partial and unjust. Constantine, desirous of removing every specious ground of complaint, then ordered a much more numerous body of ecclesiastics to assemble at Arles, from Italy, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The following summons to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, was probably the form of a Circular Letter²³ addressed by the Emperor to all the Bishops whose presence was required upon this occasion :—

“ CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS TO CHRESTUS, BISHOP OF
THE SYRACUSANS.

“ Whereas heretofore, when some had begun
“ wickedly and perversely to dissent from the sacred
“ worship, Heavenly power, and Catholic profession,
“ We, desiring to cut off all occasion of such con-
“ tentions, so ordered, that Bishops being sent from
“ Gaul, and the two parties that carry on their
“ disputes with such persevering obstinacy sum-
“ moned out of Africa, the Bishop of Rome being

(²³) Baronius and Valesius are of this opinion. See Baron. A. D. 314. n. 43 ; and Valesius, De Schismate Donatistarum.

“ also present, the commotion which had been
“ raised, might, by a careful examination, under the
“ influence of their presence, be tranquillized : but,
“ as commonly happens, some, regardless of their
“ own salvation, and the reverence due to our most
“ holy faith, persist in keeping up their private
“ animosities, and refuse obedience to the sentence
“ already pronounced ; alleging, that only a very
“ few Bishops concurred in pronouncing it, and that
“ even they who did so delivered their judgment pre-
“ cipitately, without diligent examination of those
“ points which ought first to have been inquired
“ into : hence it has come to pass, that they who
“ ought to maintain fraternal unity and concord are
“ disgracefully, not to say impiously, separated from
“ each other, so that the enemies of our most holy
“ faith are furnished with an occasion of derision.
“ It has therefore become our duty to provide, that
“ that which, after sentence declared, should have
“ been voluntarily submitted to, may now, by the
“ intervention of many, receive a final determina-
“ tion. Wherefore, seeing that from many and
“ divers places we have commanded a great number
“ of Bishops to assemble at Arles on the Kalends of
“ August, we have thought it good to write to you
“ also, that, having received a public conveyance
“ from the Most honourable Latronianus, Governor

“ of Sicily, and taking into your company two of
 “ the second order²⁴ whom you shall think fit to
 “ choose, and also bringing with you three servants
 “ who may wait upon you during the journey, you
 “ may come on the day appointed to the aforesaid
 “ place ; that, by your gravity, and the collective
 “ wisdom of the assembly, after you shall have
 “ heard all the allegations of those who are now at
 “ variance, whom we have commanded to be present,
 “ this controversy, which has hitherto been carried
 “ on with the most disgraceful altercation, may at
 “ last give place to the true worship and faith, and
 “ fraternal union and concord. God Almighty long
 “ preserve you in health²⁵ !”

(²⁴) The Emperor's words are, Δύο γέ τινας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου. The seat or throne of the Bishop was immediately behind the altar ; the seats of the Presbyters were, less elevated, on each side of him ; while the Deacons either stood, or were seated, on still lower benches. Gregory Nazianzen uses the same expression to signify a Presbyter : κάμπτει βιαίως εἰς θρόνους τοὺς δευτέρους. *Carm. de Vitâ suâ*,^o p. 6.

(²⁵) Euseb. lib. x. c. 5. The Magdeburg Centuriators, with reference to the description of Ecclesiastics who attended these Councils, justly remark : “ Ad indictas ab Imperatoribus synodos
 “ ecclesiæ in diversis provinciis mittebant suos Metropolitanos,
 “ et insigniores Episcopos.” Cent. iv. c. 7.

“ To the Synods summoned by the Emperors, the Churches in the
 “ different provinces sent their Metropolitan and more eminent
 “ Bishops.”

To each of the Bishops thus summoned was delivered a *Tractoria*, or Warrant, from the Emperor, addressed to the proper Authorities, requiring them to provide for the prelate at certain stations, free of expense, the means of conveyance, and every thing necessary for support and accommodation on the journey. The distance from which some of these prelates came must have rendered the charge of maintaining them severe upon the Government; and shews how little Constantine regarded money, when he thought the great object of religious unanimity was attainable²⁶.

The month of August, A.D. 314, presented a scene of great interest and excitement in the city of Arles. The numbers who attended A.D.
314. this celebrated Council appear to have been considerably overstated by some writers²⁷. Marinus, bishop of Arles, in whose diocese they assembled, presided in the Council. Constantine was not present: had he been so, he would not, however, have occupied any conspicuous place in the Synod; for

(²⁶) An extract from Baronius, in which he has explained the nature of a *Tractoria*, and given the form of one, copied from Cujacius, will be found in the Appendix to this Volume, No. I.

(²⁷) Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, c. 2. p. 75.

Eusebius tells us, that it was the custom of the Emperor to take his seat in such assemblies without any regard to his pre-eminent station.

Some errors have probably found their way into the catalogue of the names and titles of the Ecclesiastics who attended the Council of Arles. The following List²⁸ is taken from Sirmondus.

NOMINA EPISCOPORUM, CUM CLERICIS SUIS, QUINAM, ET EX QUIBUS
PROVINCIIIS, AD ARELATENSEM SYNODUM CONVENERINT.²⁹

Chrestus episcopus, Florus diaconus, ex civitate Syracusanorum, provinciâ Siciliâ.³⁰

Proterius episcopus, Agrippa et Pinus diacones, de civitate Capuensium, provinciâ Campaniâ.

Pardus episcopus, Crescens diaconus, de civitate Arpiensium (*l'Harpi*), provinciâ Apuliâ.

(²⁸) I am not aware that this List has before been published, excepting in the ponderous volumes of the *Concilia*, to which comparatively few readers have access. It is a very curious and interesting document.

(²⁹) Labbei Sac. Concil. tom. I. col. 1429.

(³⁰) It appears that Chrestus did not avail himself of the Emperor's permission to bring two Presbyters (probably because the Bishop was unwilling that his own Church should lose for any time the benefit of their Ministry); but attended the Council with only his Deacon, Florus.

Theodorus episcopus, Agathon diaconus, de civitate Aquilejensi (*Aquileia*), provinciâ Dalmatiâ.

Claudianus et Vitus presbyteri, Eugenius et Cyriacus diacones, ex urbe Româ, missi a Sylvestro episcopo.

Merocles episcopus, Severus diaconus, de civitate Mediolanensi (*Milan*), provinciâ Italiâ.

Oresius episcopus, Nazarius lector, de civitate Massiliensi (*Marseilles*), provinciâ Viennensi.

Marinus episcopus, Salamas presbyter; Nicasius, Afer, Ursinus, et Petrus, diacones; de civitate Arelatensium, provinciâ Viennensi.

Verus episcopus, Bedas exorcista, de civitate Viennensi, provinciâ suprascriptâ.

Daphnus episcopus, Victor exorcista, de civitate Vasensi (*Vaison*), provinciâ Viennensi.

Faustinus presbyter, de civitate Arausicorum (*Orange*), provinciâ quæ suprâ.

Innocentius diaconus, Agapius exorcista, ex portu Nicæensi (from the harbour of *Nice*).

Romanus presbyter, Victor exorcista, de civitate Aptensium (*Apt*).

ITEM DE GALLIIS.

Imbetausius episcopus, Primigenius diaconus, de civitate Rhemorum (*Rheims*).

Avitianus³¹ episcopus, Nicetius diaconus, de civitate Rotomagensium (hod. *Rouen*).

(³¹) The predecessor of Avitianus in the See of Rouen is said to have been a Briton, of the name of Mello or Mallo :—

Reticius³² episcopus, Amandus presbyter, Philomatius diaconus, de civitate Augustodunensium (*Autun*).

Vocius episcopus, Petulinus exorcista, de civitate Lugdunensium (*Lyons*).

Maternus episcopus, Macrinus diaconus, de civitate Agrippinensium (*Cologne*).

Genialis³³ diaconus, de civitate Gabalum (*Gevaudan* in Languedoc), provinciâ Aquitanicâ.

Orientalis episcopus, Flavius diaconus, de civitate Burdigalensi (*Bordeaux*).

Agræcius episcopus, Felix exorcista, de civitate Treverorum (*Triers*, or *Treves*).

Mamertinus episcopus, Leontius diaconus, de civitate Elusatum (more correctly Elusatum, part of the Modern Gascony).

“De his habentur veteres illi Rothomagensis Cleri versiculi :

“Antistes sanctus Mallonus in ordine primus

“Excoluit plebem doctrinâ Rothomagensem.

“Post hunc præcipuus devotus et Avitianus

“Obtinuit regimen, curam quoque vexit herilem.”

Orderic. Lib. v. Hist. pp. 557, 558.

“Mallo, with holy love and learning fraught,

“Chief Priest of Rouen, Rouen’s people taught.

“Avitian next obtain’d a ruler’s share,

“In piety devout, and bore a master’s care.”

(³²) St. Augustine styles Reticius “a man of God”; and states that his authority was high in the Church. Jerome also calls him *Beatum Reticium*.

(³³) Ita et in Rhemensi : in nonnullis, tamen, *Genialis episcopus*, sicut in vulgatis.

Eborius (vel Eburius), episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provinciâ Britannîâ.

Restitutus³⁴ episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, provinciâ suprascriptâ.

Adelfius episcopus, de civitate coloniâ Londinensium³⁵;
(more probably, Colonia Legionensium, or Colonia

(³⁴) I think it right to set before the reader the character which the Centuriators assign to this Bishop; although I fear we cannot depend upon its correctness:—

“ Restitutus, Britannus, Londinensis *archiepiscopus*, uxoratus;
“ et Hilario, Pictaviensi episcopo, pariter conjugato, notus; Arela-
“ tensem in Galliis synodum adiit religionis gratiâ. Erat Re-
“ stitutus homo pro suâ ætate multipliciter doctus, at vitâ modes-
“ tissimus: qui inter alia scripsit ad suos Britaunos de Arelatensi
“ synodo librum unum, ad Hilarium Pictaviensem epistolâ plures.”
Cent. iv. c. 10.

There are two facts which seem not reconcileable with the foregoing statement: the first is, that the dignity of Archbishop could scarcely have been known in Britain in the time of Restitutus: the second is, that Hilary did not become Bishop of Poitiers until the year 355, which was forty-one years after the first Council was held at Arles.

(³⁵) Archbishop Usher thinks that the word has been written thus by a mistake of the transcriber; and that it must refer to Colchester, which was called *Colonia*. Mr. Selden and Sir H. Spelman are of opinion that *Camalodunum* ought to have been written, instead of *Colonia Londinensium*. Dr. Gale, Mr. Bingham, and Dr. Henry would read *Colonia Lindum*, or Lincoln. Bishop Stillingfleet (*Origines Britannicæ*, c. 2. p. 76.) believes that *ex*

Legion. II. *i.e.* Caerleon upon Usk); *exinde sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus*³⁶.

Liberius episcopus, Florentius diaconus, de civitate Emeritâ (hod. *Estremadura* in Portugal), provinciâ Hispaniâ.

Sabinus presbyter, de civitate Bæticâ (*Andalusia*).

Natalis presbyter, Cytherius diaconus, de civitate Ursonensium (*Ursonensium Ossuna*).

civitate Colon. Leg. II. (*i.e.* the Colony of the Second Legion, which Caerleon was) must be the true reading;—an opinion so very probable, that I have adopted it. At the time of the Council of Arles, Britain was divided into three provinces; viz. *Britannia Prima*, comprising the southern parts, of which London was the capital; *Britannia Secunda*, containing the western parts, of which Caerleon was the capital; and *Maxima Cæsariensis*, containing those parts (which stretched as far as the northern boundary) of which York was the capital. Subsequently, Britain was divided into five provinces, *Flavia Cæsariensis*, and *Valentia*, being added; but considerable difference of opinion exists as to the time when this latter division took place. Camden says, that the designation *Flavia Cæsariensis* (the province which stretched from the Land's End in Cornwall to the South Foreland in Kent) occurs not before the time of *Flavius Theodosius*. *Valentia*, so called from the Emperor Valentinian, was erected into a province A.D. 369. It comprehended all that extensive tract of country which lay between the Walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius, and was inhabited by several tribes, who were called by the general name of *Mæatæ*.

(³⁶) The words in italic are wanting in the Colbertine Codex.

Probatius presbyter, Castorius diaconus, de civitate Tarracone (*that part of Spain comprising the modern Galicia, Navarre, Castile, and Arragon*).

Clementius presbyter, Rufinus exorcista, de civitate Cæsaraugustâ (*Saragossa*).

Termatius presbyter³⁷, Victor lector, de civitate Bastigen-sium (*Bastitanensium, hod. Granada*).

Fortunatus episcopus, Deuterius diaconus, de civitate Cæsariensi, provinciâ Mauritiâ.

Quintasius episcopus, Ammonius presbyter, de civitate Caralis (*Cagliari*), provinciâ Sardiniâ.

ITEM PROVINCIA AFRICA.

Cæcilianus episcopus, de civitate Carthaginensi, cum ipso Sperantius diaconus.

Lampadius episcopus, de civitate Utinâ (*an inland city of Africa, in the province of Zeugitana*).

Victor episcopus, de civitate Uticâ.

Anastasius episcopus, de civitate Beneventinâ (*the city of Beneventum was in the province of Zeugitana, otherwise called Africana Proconsularis*).

(³⁷) “Duo ad Concilia venire solebant genera presbyterorum. Quidam cum episcopis suis; alii pro episcopis, eorum loco et vice cùm episcopi ipsi non aderant. Illi jus suffragii nullum habebant: hi cum episcopis sententiam dicebant, et cum iisdem subscribebant.”—SIRMONDUS.

“It was usual for Presbyters to attend Councils in two different capacities. Some came with their Bishops; others in their place and stead, when the Bishops themselves were not present. The former were not entitled to vote: the latter delivered their opinion and subscribed their names together with the Bishops.”

Faustus episcopus, de civitate Tuborbitanâ.

Surgentius episcopus, de civitate Pocofeltis.

Victor episcopus, de civitate Legisvolumini (probably *Legiæ*, or *Legæ*, both of which were dioceses), provinciâ Numidiâ.

Vitalis episcopus, de civitate Verensium (probably *Venerensium*, from *Venerea*, a city of the province of Zeugitana).

Gregorius episcopus, de loco qui est in portu Romæ.

Epictetus episcopus, a Centumcellis (hod. *Civita Vecchia*).

Leontius, et Mercurius, presbyteri, ab Ostiis (*Ostia*, about sixteen miles distant from Rome).

It will be seen that by far the greater proportion of the Clergy in the above List were from Gaul, and, in particular, from the province of Vienne. This must be attributed to the facility which the neighbourhood of such ecclesiastics afforded them of attending. With regard to other countries, one Bishop, generally speaking, came from each province. Thus from Britain, which at that time consisted of three provinces, Three Bishops, Eburius, Restitutus, and Adelfius, with a Presbyter and a Deacon, represented the Clergy of the country.

From this fact, we must infer that there were many other Bishops in Britain; for we never can

suppose that the whole number would be summoned at one time out of the country. It was customary for the different provinces to send to the Synods, the Metropolitan, and the most eminent of their Bishops ; and such, no doubt, were the ecclesiastics mentioned above³⁷.

Sylvester bishop of Rome, although invited, was not able to attend the Council ; but appears to have been represented by Eugenius and Cyriacus, two of his Deacons. Marinus bishop of Arles, Maternus bishop of Cologne, and Reticius bishop of Autun, who were present upon this occasion, were among those who had attended the Council previously held at Rome relative to the same question. The Commission in which they had then been joined by Constantine with the Bishop of Rome shews the absurdity of supposing that the latter exercised any general supremacy over the Western Churches. We collect this also from the fact, that Marinus, and not any representative of Sylvester, presided in the Council of Arles. Whatever respect might be shewn to the Bishop of Rome, as occupying a See founded by the Apostles, and in the capital of

(³⁷) Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, chap. 2. pp. 75, 76.

the Roman Empire, his authority at this time, and for many years afterwards, was confined to his own diocese³⁸, which comprehended only the Churches within the suburbicary provinces. Even in Italy he did not consecrate Bishops, or call Councils beyond his own diocese; for the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia were accustomed to consecrate each other; and the ecclesiastics who now attended at Arles came by no summons from Sylvester, but from the Emperor.

The first object of the Council of Arles was to discuss the question relative to Cæcilianus and the Numidian Bishops. This investigation proved in every respect favourable to the former. The next point was, to endeavour to set at rest many subjects of dispute which were at that time agitated in the Church. For this purpose, the Council framed Twenty-two³⁹ short Canons, which principally related to the following particulars: 1st, To the

(³⁸) The term *diocese* must be here understood in its most extensive sense.

(³⁹) The number of these Canons is usually stated to be Twenty-eight; but the last six were probably added after the Second Council of Arles. The Twenty-two Canons, copied from Labbe's *Concilia*, will be found in the Appendix to this Volume, No. II.

Celebration of Easter, which was now decreed to be observed at the same time throughout the Christian world. 2dly, To the discipline of the Clergy. And here it was enjoined that one Bishop should not trample upon another—*Ut nullus Episcopus alium Episcopum inculcet*: the meaning of which, according to Albaspinæus, is, ‘that no Bishop should invade the diocese of another’;—that Travelling or Foreign Bishops should be allowed to perform divine offices in the cities which they might visit;—that no Bishop should singly consecrate another; but that seven, or at least three Bishops should join in the rite of Consecration;—that if any persons were certainly proved to have been *traditores* during the time of persecution (*i.e.* to have delivered up the sacred books or vessels), or to have betrayed their brethren, they were to be deposed: their ordinations, however, are declared to be valid. With regard to the Inferior Clergy, excommunication is denounced against those who put out money to usurious purposes. They are enjoined not to forsake the Churches to which they were ordained; and deprivation is threatened against those who should do so. The Deacons are prohibited from administering the Lord’s Supper. 3dly, With regard to Lay Communion—this was to be suspended in the case of those who deserted their posts as soldiers,

although in time of peace⁴⁰; and in the case of those who drove the chariots in races, and who acted on theatres.

Those who were Christians, and who were appointed to the government of remote places, were to carry with them the Communicatory Letters of their own Bishop, and not to be debarred from communion, unless they acted against the discipline of the Church.

Those who were converted in their sickness

(⁴⁰) The words of the Canon are, *De his qui arma projiciunt in pace*. Binius thinks we ought to read *in bello*: but Stillingfleet, very sensibly, argues, that a meaning so totally opposite could never have crept in by mistake. Albaspinæus thinks that the words were directed “against those who refused to be soldiers in time of peace.” Baronius says, “that they were urged against those who apostatized in time of peace.” Stillingfleet reasons, that if a metaphorical sense may be allowed, the most probable one seems to be, that whereas certain Christians, when the persecution was at an end, had neglected that strictness of discipline which they before had used, they were to be debarred from communion until they had returned to their former regular and Christian conduct. The last writer observes, that if a metaphorical meaning may not be admitted, we must suppose that the words of the Canon were directed against those who renounced being soldiers, as much during the quiet times of the Church as they did during persecution, when they could not be soldiers without committing idolatry.—Stillingfleet’s *Origines Britannicæ*, c. 2. p. 86.

were afterwards to have imposition of hands (Canon vi.): “De his qui in infirmitate credere volunt, placuit eis debere manum imponi⁴¹:” *i.e.* they

(⁴¹) “Quod non est accipiendum de Confirmatione. Non enim confirmabantur priusquam baptizati essent. Primâ impositione manuum dicebantur *Christiani*, ante baptismum: ultima quâ perficiebantur post baptismum, *fideles* ac *justi*. Unde et passim in vetustis Conciliis, Fidelis idem est qui baptismum accepit. Hinc, in Canone LIX. Concilii Eliberini, Christianus et Fidelis ita distinguuntur. *Christianus* est Catechumenus, qui ad fidem accedens, manuum impositione primâ meruit fieri Christianus: Fidelis qui integrum suum baptismum acceperat; hoc est, qui manuum impositione ultimâ perfectus fuerat.”—SALMASIUS.

“This is not to be understood of Confirmation, because Christians were not confirmed before they were baptized. At the first imposition of hands before baptism, they were called Christians: at the last, by which they were perfected after baptism, Believers and Just. Hence, wherever it occurs in the ancient Councils, the term ‘Believer’ signifies one who has received baptism. And in the 59th Canon of the Council of Eliberis, a Christian and a Believer are thus distinguished: a Christian is a Catechumen, who, coming over to the faith, had, by the first imposition of hands, gained a title to be made a Christian: a Believer is one who had received his entire baptism; that is, who had been perfected by the last imposition of hands.”

“St. Austin says: They were not yet sons, but servants. They belonged to the House of God, but were not yet admitted to all the privileges of it; being only Christians at large, and not in the most strict and proper acceptation.”—BINGHAM, *Antiquities*, Book I. ch. 3. sect. 3.

were to be put under discipline on their recovery⁴².

Those who brought testimonials from Confessors were bound to take Communicatory Letters from their Bishop.

Those who found their wives in adultery were to be advised not to marry again, as long as their wives lived.

Those young women who married infidels were for a time to be suspended from communion.

Those who falsely accused their brethren were not to be re-admitted to communion.

None who were excommunicated in one place were to be absolved in another.

No apostate was to be admitted to communion during sickness ; but was enjoined to wait until he had recovered, and given proof of an amended life.

Those who had been baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity were not to be re-baptized.

Such were the Canons to which the Three British Bishops, in common with the Council, subscribed their names ; and which, there is no reason to doubt, were widely circulated upon their return to Britain.

(⁴²) Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Book I. Cent. iv. See also Bingham's Antiquities &c. Book X. chap. i. sect. 2.

From these Canons we may collect some very interesting facts, relative to the usages of our Ancient Church. From the 20th Canon, for instance, which enjoins that seven, or at least three Bishops were necessary to the act of Consecration, we see how very anxiously the primitive Church guarded the Episcopal succession, which undoubtedly she had cherished and observed from the times of the Apostles. For we are not to suppose that these Canons promulgated any new doctrine upon this subject, but enforced, more stringently and universally, those rules which had always been considered as useful and necessary.

From the 17th Canon, "*Ut nullus Episcopus alium Episcopum inculcet*," we learn how carefully the Church desired to maintain the independence of her Bishops. Metropolitan jurisdiction certainly existed long before this time⁴³; for the proper

(⁴³) Archbishop Usher derives the Metropolitan power from Apostolical constitution (De Orig. Epis. et Metrop.). So also do Bishop Beveridge (Cod. Can. Vind. lib. ii. c. 5. n. 12.); Dr. Hammond (Annot. Acts xi. lit. b. Pref. to Titus. It. Dissert. 4. contr. Blondel. c. 5.); De Marca; and many other celebrated writers.—Speaking of Titus, Eusebius (lib. iii. c. 4.) affirms him, τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι, *to have been Bishop of the Churches of Crete*: and Chrysostom says, regarding the
authority

government of the Church required that there should be in every province some one Bishop to whom reference might be made in difficult and disputed cases. But this was far different from allowing any dignitary, in a distant country, to *bestride* the ecclesiastical world like a colossus, and to *trample*, as was the case afterwards, upon the Clergy of other regions.

The Rescript of Constantine to the Ecclesiastics who formed the Synod of Arles, as well as his Letters to Cæcilianus, Chrestus, and others, are full of pious sentiments; and would seem to indicate that, at least, as early as the year 314, he was a sincere convert to Christianity. But the happiness which the Christians enjoyed, from the favour of Constantine and from the acquiescence of Licinius, was soon interrupted by the turbulent spirit of the latter. War broke out between the two Emperors. Licinius was, however, defeated in a decisive battle, and compelled to submit

A.D.
314.

authority of the same person in Crete, that to him was committed *ὁλόκληρος νῆσος*, an entire island, καὶ τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσις, and the jurisdiction of so many Bishops. (Hom. I. in Tit.) He observes, also, that Timothy was entrusted with the government of the Church in the whole region or province of Asia.—See also BINGHAM'S *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book II. ch. 16. sect. 1.

to the terms which his conqueror imposed. The peace which was thus restored, continued during the nine following years. But the violent temper of Licinius, which ill qualified him to submit to a superior, being inflamed by the misrepresentations of the Heathen Priests, once more armed him against Constantine⁴⁴.

(⁴⁴) Gibbon throws the blame of this second quarrel upon Constantine, and quotes Eutropius and Zosimus in support of his opinion. But the passage adduced from Eutropius relates not to the second, but to the first war: “Constantinus, vir ingens, et “ omnia efficere nitens quæ animo præparasset, simul principatum “ totius orbis affectans, Licinio bellum intulit.”—Lib. x. 5.

“ Constantine being a great man, and endeavouring to effect all “ things which he had proposed in his mind, at the same time “ aspiring to the empire of the whole world, made war upon “ Licinius.”

As for Zosimus, his hatred to Constantine ought to make us always cautious in receiving his testimony. The infamous character of Licinius renders it probable that he was the aggressor, in both instances: Mosheim takes this view of the subject. The historian Socrates tells us that the last quarrel between the two Emperors was occasioned by the resentment which Constantine felt against Licinius on account of his cruel treatment of the Christians.—Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. i. c. 4. Socrates also says, that Licinius, after his captivity, was treated most humanely by his conqueror; and that he brought destruction upon himself by his seditious practices.

During this war, which occurred in the year 324, Licinius, in order that he might oppress his antagonist by numbers, sought to attach to his own interest all those who adhered to the ancient superstition. The Christians who had the misfortune to be under his dominion were again subjected to persecution. Several Bishops, and other eminent Ecclesiastics, beside a great number of less-distinguished Christians, were put to death. Happily, however, the struggle between the two Emperors did not last very long. Licinius was defeated in a succession of battles, and compelled to solicit pardon and life. Both were granted at the time: but Constantine was afterwards induced to revoke the promise of indemnity which he had given to Licinius, and the latter was put to death in Thessalonica. Here Constantine seems to have
A.D. 325.
failed most lamentably in point of generosity and good faith; although it is very probable that the conduct of Licinius gave occasion for suspicion and alarm.

The sceptre of the Roman world was now single, and committed to the strong hand of one who, notwithstanding some inconsistency and guilt, seems to have been anxious to promote the welfare of his people, and sincerely attached to

Christianity. The external circumstances of the Church were at this time extremely prosperous. The possessions which had been wrested from her during the late persecutions were restored, many of her burdens were removed or lightened, and lands and money presented and bequeathed for her use. Constantine, with a zeal which would well become all Christian Princes, addressed a Circular Letter to the Bishops in the different countries of his empire, enjoining them to see that all things were provided for the due worship of Almighty God; that the dilapidated churches should everywhere be rebuilt and enlarged, and new ones erected in the places that required them; and that the Bishops should apply to the Prætorian Prefects⁴⁵ for the means necessary to accomplish these great purposes.

(⁴⁵) The Emperor's words are express: "Ὅσων τοίνυν ἡ αὐτὸς προϊστάσαι ἐκκλησιῶν, ἢ ἄλλους τοὺς κατὰ τόπον προϊσταμένους ἐπισκόπους, πρεσβυτέρους τε ἢ διακόνους οἶσθα, ὑπόμνησον σπουδάζειν περὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· καὶ ἡ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ ὄντα, ἢ εἰς μείζονα αὔξειν, ἢ ἐνθα ἂν χρειὰ ἀπαιτῇ, καὶ ἀποιεῖν. αἰτήσεις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ διὰ σοῦ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα παρὰ τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων, καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχικῆς τάξεως. τούτοις γὰρ ἐπεστάθῃ, πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἐξυπηρετήσασθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος λεγομένοις.—EUSEB. *de Vitâ Constan.* lib. ii. c. 46.

“Do you therefore remind as well [all persons belonging to]
 “the Churches over which you preside, as also Bishops presiding
 “in other places, together with the Presbyters and Deacons whom

But whilst the Church was thus outwardly prosperous, some of the most sacred articles of her Creed were denied or corrupted by many who professed to be her children. Of these schismatics, the most dangerous was Arius. And here I must deprecate the error of those who imagine that the opinions of this man and his followers were merely speculative, and could be of no serious detriment to morals or religion. The Arians, in all ages, have contended, when they seek to rob the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity of that adoration which is due to him as God; when they seek to deprive mankind of their hope in Him as their divine Intercessor, Mediator, and Saviour; that they are merely discussing a theoretical question, which affects not

“ you know, that they use their utmost diligence about the structures of the churches; either about repairing those that are still standing, or about enlarging them, or in building new ones wherever it shall be found requisite. And you yourself, and the rest by your mediation, may ask necessities [for that work], both from our Presidents of the Provinces, and also from the office of the Prætorian Prefecture. For they have been already empowered, by Letters, to be diligently observant about your Holiness’s orders.”—*Old Translation.*

The following is a just remark of the Centuriators:—“ Si quid etiam Imperatores in provinciâ aliquâ curari volebant, per episcopos efficiebant.” Cent. iv. c. 7. col. 1292. See also, for instances of this, Euseb. de Vitâ Constant. lib. x. c. 6. and lib. iii. c. 50, 51.

the duties of Christians, or the character and claims of the Christian Religion⁴⁶. But their notions strike at the very heart of Christianity, depriving it of that which especially gives it efficacy and life; and leaving it, as the enemies of Jesus would have left Him—a dead body in the hands of His followers. The Arians, notwithstanding all their subtleties and evasions, would reduce the office of the Redeemer to that of a mere Teacher; they would deprive us of the hopes, the aids, and the consolations which can only result from the belief that Jesus Christ is God as well as man. Such is the character and tendency of those heretical doctrines which at this time distressed and offended every devout Christian, and gave rise to disputes which excited the ridicule and the triumph of the Heathen⁴⁷.

Arius himself was a native of Libya, and was probably born about the year 285. He was remarkably distinguished by his appearance, manners, and address, as well as by his eloquence⁴⁸. He possessed

(⁴⁶) Dr. D'Oyly has written ably on this subject. Sermon IX. "On Modern Unitarianism."

(⁴⁷) At Alexandria, they were made the subject of theatrical representation and buffoonery.

(⁴⁸) The reader must make some allowance for prejudice in

a subtlety which enabled him often to puzzle, when he could not convince an antagonist. It was he who first embodied into a system the heterodox doctrines respecting the Second Person in the Holy Trinity, which had been more vaguely taught by Ebion, Cerinthus, and many others. How much-soever he professed to exalt Jesus Christ in words, he really assigned him no higher place than that of the noblest among the creatures of God. His opinions respecting the Holy Ghost are not so well known. It is however certain, that upon this great article of our creed, as well as upon many others, his sentiments differed widely from those of the generality of Christians.

the following description of Arius, which is little more than a translation of the words of Epiphanius :—

“He was by nature extremely well qualified for a seducer : he “ was already well advanced in years, and seemed a master both “ of zeal and virtue : his appearance was sedate ; his stature of an “ uncommon height ; his countenance was serious and dejected, “ as through mortification ; and his garb austere, for he wore only “ a tunic without sleeves, and a strait cloak, which was almost like “ the monastic habit. Besides this, his conversation was mild and “ agreeable, and well adapted for captivating the mind : he was “ skilled in logic and the profane sciences.”—FLEURY’S *Ecclesiastical History*, Book X. sect. xxviii. See also Epiphanius, *Hær.* 69. tom. i. p. 729. Baronius, A.D. 319. §. xix. tom. iv. p. 7. Sozomen, lib. i. c. 15.

Alexandria was at this time what Athens had been in the age of St. Paul—the great mart for every novel and singular opinion. This city might, indeed, be called the storehouse of every system of theology and philosophy ; the manufactory of crude, elaborate, and blended theories in every department of literature and science. It may well be supposed that among such a people the doctrines of Arius found many admirers. Not content to receive, upon the authority of Scripture, those truths which surpass human comprehension, many theologians of this school were eager to adapt the sublime doctrine of the Trinity to their own partial and short-sighted views, and to reduce the Eternal Son of God to the condition of a superangelic creature. The flames of Arianism, which had burnt for many years in secret, at length burst out with such violence as to attract the attention of the Emperor. He did all he could to extinguish them ; but, finding his own efforts to reconcile parties and opinions ineffectual, he resolved to summon a General Council of the Heads of the Church, from every part of his dominions, to investigate, and, if possible, set at rest these most difficult and agitating questions. The city of Nice, where this Council was appointed to be held, was the capital of Bithynia in Asia. It was conveniently and pleasantly

situated, between the Mysian Olympus and the Lake Ascanius, and at no great distance from the Propontis. Of all the Councils which have been held since the days of the Apostles, this appears to have been the most memorable. By it was ratified that faith respecting the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity which we hold at the present day; and to it, as to a standard, the practices of the Church were for centuries referred, by those who professed to be her children. An attentive consideration of the proceedings of this Council will amply repay our care; as by them we may form a correct notion of that which was taught and practised in the Churches of Britain during the fourth century, and which still forms a considerable part of our Established Religion.

The number of Bishops who attended on this occasion does not seem to be exactly agreed upon by ancient writers. Eusebius, Eustathius, Sozomen, Athanasius, Hilary, and Jerome, differ somewhat in their statements relative to this subject; but the most prevalent opinion among learned men is, that 318 Bishops were present, besides a great many presbyters, deacons, and acolythists; so that the whole number of Ecclesiastics assembled probably exceeded 600. It is much to be lamented that the

Synodicon of Athanasius, in which were given the names of all who subscribed to the Canons of Nice, has long been lost, and that the catalogue of names now remaining is miserably mutilated and imperfect. The name of Nicasius, from Dijon, is the only one which is specified in the list, as that of a Bishop of Gaul ; although there is reason to believe that several others from that country, as well as from Britain, were present at the Council : for Constantine had expressed his anxious wish to collect as many Bishops as possible upon this occasion, and for this purpose had issued a universal summons for them to come out of every province of the empire, at the same time providing public conveyances for them⁴⁹. The *classis Britannica*, lying

(⁴⁹) Eusebius says : Σπεύδειν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους γράμμασι τιμητικοῖς προκαλούμενος. οὐκ ἦν θ' ἀπλοῦν τὸ ἐπίταγμα· συνήργει δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ πράξει τὸ βασιλέως νεῦμα· οἷς μὲν ἔξουσίαν δημοσίου παρέχον δρόμον· οἷς δὲ νωτοφόρων ὑπηρεσίας ἀφθόρους. *De Vitâ Constant.* lib. iii. c. 6.

“ By honourable Letters inviting the Bishops everywhere, to the
 “ end they should come with all the speed imaginable. Nor was
 “ it a simple and bare order ; but the Emperor’s appointment
 “ gave assistance to the business itself : for to some he allowed
 “ a liberty of making use of the *cursus publicus* (*i.e.* waggons or
 “ chariots) : others he supplied abundantly with the assistances of
 “ beasts of burden (*i.e.* public horses).”—*Old Translation.*

near our shores, to protect the country from the attacks of the Franks and Saxons, afforded a ready mode of passage to the Ecclesiastics of Britain; and, as we know that several of these Ecclesiastics afterwards attended the Councils of Sardica and Ariminum, we have good ground for supposing that the Church of Britain was represented by three or four Bishops at the Council of Nice⁵⁰.

It was about the middle of July, in the year 325,

In the next chapter, he says: Τῶν γούν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπασῶν, αἱ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἅπασαν, Λιβύην τε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπλήρουν, ὁμοῦ συνήκτο τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν τὰ ἀκροθίνια.

“The most eminent, therefore, amongst God’s Ministers, of all ‘those Churches which filled all Europe, Africa, and Asia, were “convened.”—*Old Translation*.

The historian Socrates uses nearly the same words, Lib. i. c. 8. —Mr. Selden (in Eutych. pp. 117, 123.) and Bishop Stillingfleet (chap. iii.) think that some of the British Bishops were present at the Council of Nice.

(⁵⁰) “We may reasonably presume,” says Bishop Lloyd, “that “the British Church consented to the Canons of this Council, “because the Emperor did: nay, we have more than presumption “for it, from the Emperor himself; who, declaring that the Council’s Rule concerning Easter was received in the provinces, saith “expressly (Euseb. Vit. Constant. Mag. lib. iii. cap. 19.) it was “received in Britain. Therefore it is more than probable that “this Church received the Nicene Canons.”—LLOYD’S *Historical Account of Church Government*, chap. iii. §. 4. pp. 75, 76.

that this great Meeting assembled in Bithynia. Among them were some very remarkable characters. Alexander bishop of Alexandria, the first great opposer of Arius ; Athanasius, then only Alexander's Deacon, but distinguished by his zeal and abilities, and afterwards so renowned, as Bishop of Alexandria, for his fortitude and exertions in the orthodox cause ; Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea, the historian ; his namesake, Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, the first suspected, and the last known, to be favourable to Arius ; Paphnutius from the Thebaïd, and Paulus from Næocæsarea, two bishops whose firm adherence to the cause of Christianity had cost the former of them the use of an eye, and the latter that of a limb, during the Diocletian persecution ; Spiridion bishop of Thermutis in Cyprus, a man revered for the piety and simplicity of his character ; Hosius bishop of Corduba, the friend and spiritual adviser of Constantine, known to History as well by his energy as by the remarkable age to which he afterwards attained. With these were assembled Arius⁵¹ himself,

(⁵¹) Baronius, after giving a very spirited and interesting account of several of the orthodox Ecclesiastics who attended the Council, adds: “ At sicut olim (quod apud Job describitur), cùm
“ venissent filii Dei ut assisterent coram Domino, affuit inter eos
“ etiam

and his abettors ; Acesius, a Novatian bishop ; and some Heathen Philosophers, who came, some with a view to spiritual enlightenment, and others to enjoy the ignorance and contradiction which they expected to find among the Christian disputants.

The Emperor received the whole body of Ecclesiastics with great kindness and hospitality. Those

“ etiam Satan : ita prorsùs, in sanctissimo hoc Patrum consensu, “ astitit Diabolus in membris suis : ‘ Siquidem,’ (inquit Theodo- “ retus, lib. i. c. 7.) ‘ divinus iste, et venerandus cœtus hostibus Dei “ non caruit ; sed aderant quidam, licet pauci numero, iique vete- “ ratores, qui, maris brevia imitati, calliditatem suam occultarunt.’ “ Nam licet eadem sentirent cum Ario, tamen à parte Catholi- “ corum se stare simulabant, tempori inservientes : alii verò, sub “ vexillo impietatis, sicut turpiter ita et apertè profitebantur.”— Anno 325. §. xl. tom. iv. p. 99.

“ But as of old, as described in the Book of Job, ‘when the “ sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, Satan “ came also among them ;’ so truly, in this most holy assembly of “ the Fathers, the Devil was present in his children. For, says “ Theodoret, that divine and revered assembly was not free from “ the enemies of God ; but there were present some, though few in “ number, and they dissemblers, who, like the shallow waters of “ the sea, concealed their own deceitfulness. For although they “ agreed in opinion with Arius, yet, as time-servers, they pretended “ to side with the Catholics : others, however, under the standard “ of impiety, disgracefully and openly professed their real sen- “ timents.”

who were most distinguished by age, learning, and ability, were lodged in the royal palace : accommodations for the rest were provided elsewhere.

Before the immediate business of the Synod began, one of the Gentile Philosophers whom I have mentioned, anxious to display his learning and to perplex the Christians, whom he considered wanting in the knowledge of the Schools, made some insolent observations relative to the Clergy. Upon which, an old man, remarkable for the simplicity of his appearance, but one who had given proof of his attachment to Christianity by his sufferings in the late persecutions, indignant at the Philosopher's remarks, stood up to oppose him.—The greater part of the assembly were struck with surprise, not unmixed with alarm, lest the cause of Christianity might suffer by the senior's inexperience in those weapons of controversy in which his antagonist was known to be so skilful. The appearance of the combatants reminds us of Virgil's description of Dares and Entellus. Of the philosopher it might be said :

“ Talis prima Dares caput altum in prælia tollit,

“ Ostenditque humeros latos, alternaque jactat

“ Brachia protendens, et verberat ictibus auras.”

VIRGIL. *Æn.* V. 375.

" Such Dares was; and such he strode along,
 " And drew the wonder of the gazing throng.
 " His brawny back and ample breast he shows;
 " His lifted arms around his head he throws,
 " And deals, in whistling air, his empty blows."

DRYDEN.

Of the old Christian it might be feared, that

" ————— gelidus tardante senectâ
 " Sanguis hebet, frigentque effetæ in corpore vires." ⁵²
 " But my chill blood is curdled in my veins;
 " And scarce the shadow of a man remains."

DRYDEN.

The result of this contest, in both cases, was such as every right-minded person would desire; excepting, that the bloodless victory of the Christian rendered his antagonist his friend and his convert; whereas the savage triumph of Entellus was marked by the humiliation and suffering of his opponent.

" Hear, Philosopher," said the old man, " in the
 " name of Jesus Christ!—There is one God, the
 " Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things
 " visible and invisible, who made all these things
 " by virtue of his Word, and established them by

(⁵²) Virgil, *Æn.* V. 395.

“ the sanctity of his Spirit. This Word, whom we
 “ call the Son of God, compassionating the sinful,
 “ fallen state of mankind, was pleased to be born
 “ of a woman, to converse with men, and to suffer
 “ death for them. He will also come again, to be
 “ the Judge of those things which every one hath
 “ done in this life. That these things are so, we
 “ believe in simplicity : do not then labour in vain,
 “ seeking to confute things which ought to be re-
 “ ceived by faith, and investigating the manner by
 “ which these things may or may not be ; but
 “ answer to my interrogation—Dost thou believe ?”

Exceedingly moved by this unexpected appeal, the Philosopher said, “ I do believe ;” willingly allowed himself vanquished, confessed that he embraced the same opinions with the old man, and advised the other Philosophers to do the same ; solemnly declaring, that he was changed by a divine influence, and impelled, in an inexplicable manner, to receive the Christian faith⁵³.

(⁵³) Sozomen, lib. i. c. 18.

Sozomen does not mention the name of the old man, but Baroni-
 us relates the anecdote of Spiridion :—“ At quinquam fuerit epi-
 “ scopus ille qui, Christianâ simplicitate munitus, tam gloriosa de
 “ fastu philosophicæ disciplinæ trophæa erexit : conveniunt in
 “ eandem sententiam scriptores fuisse Magnum Spiridionem, epi-
 “ scopum Trimituntis in Cypro.” Anno 325. §. 48. tom. iv. p. 102.

The place in which the Council was held was the Great Hall of the palace. The appearance of Constantine in this assembly, as described by Eusebius, is very striking⁵⁴. Clothed in a purple robe glittering with precious stones, he towered above all, the majesty of personal strength and beauty being added to that of empire : but his look and deportment were full of modesty and benevolence. When the assembly were all seated, one of the Bishops, who occupied the first place on the right hand, addressed Constantine in a speech in which he expressed his thanks to God for placing such an Emperor over them⁵⁵. Constantine then, regarding the assembly with eyes beaming with kindness, addressed them thus :—

“ My prayer was, beloved friends, that I might
“ enjoy the happiness of beholding your assembly.

(⁵⁴) He must, however, be deemed open to the imputation of flattery, when, speaking of the Emperor, he says: *οἶα Θεοῦ τις οὐρανίος ἄγγελος*. De Vitâ Constantini, lib. iii. c. 10.

(⁵⁵) Learned men are divided in opinion as to who this prelate was; some supposing that it was Eusebius of Cæsarea; others, Eusebius of Nicomedia; others, Hosius of Corduba; others, Eustathius bishop of Antioch. Having well weighed their arguments, I am convinced that it was Eustathius; who, according to Theodoret, also presided in the Council.

“ That having been granted me, I return thanks to
“ God, the Universal King, that to all his other
“ blessings conferred upon me He has yet added
“ the greatest of all—this of seeing you brought
“ together in one assembly, and one common senti-
“ ment pervading all your minds. Let no mali-
“ cious enemy, then, mar this our happy state; and
“ let not the malignant demon, now that an im-
“ pious tyranny, by the help of God our Saviour,
“ has been overthrown, by any other device again
“ encompass the divine law with blasphemies. To
“ me, no war or other contest is so terrible and
“ dangerous as internal dissension in the Church of
“ God, neither can any thing from without affect
“ me so painfully. When, therefore, by the good
“ pleasure and aid of the Supreme Ruler, I had
“ vanquished my enemies, I thought that it only
“ remained for me to give God thanks, and rejoice
“ with those whom, through my means, he had set
“ at liberty. But when I heard of your unlooked-
“ for dissension, regarding it as a matter of no light
“ importance, I ardently desired that I might be
“ made instrumental in remedying this evil also,
“ and without any delay called you all together.
“ And truly I rejoice when I behold your assembly;
“ and the utmost desires of my soul will attain
“ their completion if I may but see you all joined

“ together in heart and mind, and that one spirit of
“ peace and concord prevailing among you which,
“ as men consecrated to God, it is your office to
“ preach to others. Delay not then, my beloved
“ friends, delay not, Ministers of God and faithful
“ Servants of our common Lord and Saviour; but,
“ beginning at once to remove all causes of dissen-
“ sions from among you, solve every knot of con-
“ troversy by the laws of peace. So will you
“ perform a work pleasing to Almighty God, and
“ confer upon me, your fellow-servant, a transcen-
“ dent favour.”⁵⁶

Every reader must be struck by the modest and benevolent spirit which characterizes this speech, and by the magnanimity evinced by Constantine immediately afterwards. Having received many Letters from different parties, criminatory of each other, he brought these Letters to the Council, most

(⁵⁶) Eusebius, from whom this speech is translated, says that it was spoken by Constantine in Latin; and then rendered, by an Interpreter, into Greek, in order that all might understand it. This seems to imply the presence of a large proportion of Ecclesiastics from the Western Churches, who were better acquainted with the Latin than with the Greek language; or why did not Constantine address them in the latter, which his historian tells us he spoke fluently? *De Vitâ Constant.* lib. iii. c. 12 & 13.

of them unopened ; declared that he had read none of them, and ordered them all to be burnt ; exhorting the assembly to exercise mutual forbearance and forgiveness. The Emperor seems to have taken an active part in the subsequent discussions, hearing the arguments adduced on both sides, and endeavouring to bring the assembly to a perfect agreement.

The Council sat for more than two months⁵⁷; during which time the opinions of Arius were keenly debated, and at length utterly condemned by an immense majority. Christ was declared *ὁμοούσιος*, i.e. *Consubstantial*, or of the same substance with the Father. Hosius bishop of Corduba was instructed to draw up a Creed ; which, as far as the words “I believe in the Holy Ghost,” is the same with that which is commonly called the Nicene Creed, and is read by our Church, in the Communion Service, after the Gospel for the day. The articles, however, which now succeed the mention of the Holy Ghost are not found in the original Creed, inasmuch as no controversy had then

(⁵⁷) “Factum est Concilium apud Nicæam metropolim Bithyniæ à die XVIII. Kal. Jul. quod tenuit usque ad diem VIII. Kal. Septemb.; Paulino et Juliano Coss.”—*Ex Cresconianâ Canonum Collectione*.

arisen respecting them ; and the Nicene Fathers did not wish to insert more than was necessary to correct the errors of the times⁵⁸. The troubles which Novatian had excited, *by opposing the re-admission of the lapsed to the Communion of the Church*, were composed ; and the controversy relative to Easter was decided, all Churches being ordered to celebrate that festival on the same day⁵⁹.

(⁵⁸) “ The remainder, with the exception of *Filioque*, was added
 “ by the Second General Council, held at Constantinople A.D. 381,
 “ in which the heresy of Macedonius, with regard to the divinity
 “ of the Holy Spirit, was condemned. The latter part of this
 “ Creed seems, however, to have been used by the Christian Church
 “ even before the Council of Constantinople ; as it occurs in a Creed
 “ preserved by Epiphanius, which is probably much older than
 “ that Council *. In the fifth century, the Western Churches added
 “ to this Creed the words *Filioque*, in conformity with the doctrine,
 “ that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the
 “ Father, which in after-times produced controversies and schisms
 “ between the Eastern and Western Churches†.”—PALMER’S *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. II. ch. 4. sect. 6. pp. 53, 54.

(⁵⁹) That day was the first Sunday after the full moon, which happens upon or next after the Vernal Equinox, *i.e.* the 21st day of March. The determination, however, of the Festival of Easter does not occur among the Canons of Nice as they are come down to us. But that a decree was made that the feast should be kept
 on

* See Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book X. ch. 4.

† Bingham, *ib.* ; also Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. VIII.

Some other points of great importance were determined ; of which I shall speak more at large, when I come to notice the Canons.

In the course of the discussions, Constantine asked Acesius, a Novatian bishop—whom, with a view to conciliation, he had invited to the Council—whether he assented to the decrees which had been passed relative to the Faith, and to the observation of Easter. Acesius answered, that he did so ; and that, in fact, the Council had decreed nothing new respecting these things, for so he had always understood them. “ Why then do you separate yourself from our communion ? ” inquired the Emperor. Acesius replied by reminding Constantine of the controversy which had arisen between Cornelius

on one and the same day by all, appears from one of Constantine’s Epistles to the Bishops who were not present at the synod, which is recorded by all the historians. Theod. lib. i. cap. 10. Socr. lib. i. cap. 9. Sozomen, lib. i. cap. 21. Euseb. de Vitâ Constant. lib. iii. c. 14. See Bingham, Antiquities &c. Book XX. ch. 5. sect. 3.

“ The Council of Antioch, an. 341, made a more peremptory “ decree, That all who presumed to disannul the determination “ made by the holy and great Council of Nice concerning the “ Paschal Festival should be excommunicated and cast out of the “ Church, if they persisted contentiously to oppose what was there “ decreed.”—BINGHAM, *ibid.*

and Novatus; and said, "that the Novatians accounted apostacy the sin unto death; and that those who had been guilty of it ought never to be restored to the communion of the Church; although they were to be invited to repentance, and to be left to God, who only could remit sins." "Then place a ladder, Acesius," said the Emperor, "and climb up to heaven by yourself!"⁶⁰

The notions relative to the necessity of celibacy in the Clergy, which had originally been maintained by Basilides and Saturninus, and after them by Montanus and Novatus, had gained ground during the last fifty years, and were now brought forward, in a very startling manner, in the Council. Paphnutius, however, a man remarkable for the purity and sanctity of his morals, and one whose adherence to the faith had cost him an eye during the decennial persecution, himself unmarried, vehemently opposed the resolution. In the language of Scripture, he called marriage honourable; and pointed out the inconvenience and mischief which would result from the adoption of the measure suggested. At the same time, he gave it as his

(⁶⁰) Sozomen, lib. i. c. 22.

opinion, that it accorded with the ancient tradition of the Church that a person who should become a Clergyman ought not afterwards to enter into matrimony, although he was by no means to be separated from the wife whom he had married whilst he was a layman. The whole assembly immediately assenting to the opinion of Paphnutius, the decision of the question relative to a separation from their wives was left to the Clergy themselves⁶¹.

Having thus treated of some incidental particulars, I shall now speak of those celebrated Canons

(⁶¹) Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12. Sozomen, lib. i. c. 23.

We may hence collect what the general practice at this time was with regard to Matrimony among the Clergy. In the Western Church, the Gallican and Spanish Synods make mention of the wives both of Bishops and Priests: and in the works of Hilary of Poitiers there is a Letter written by him, when in exile, to his daughter Abra, in which he refers her to her mother for instruction in those things which, on account of her age, she did not then understand: which shews that she was at that time very young, and therefore probably born after Hilary became a Bishop. Of course the reader will apply these remarks to the Clergy of the British Church.—Bishop Burnet has treated this subject with as much judgment as learning, in his exposition of the Thirty-second Article.

which were promulgated by the Council of Nice. These were twenty in number ; of which some were intended to confirm the Canons of Arles, and others to enforce points which had not before been noticed. I shall confine my attention to those which may serve to throw light upon the customs and practice of the British Church.

Among the Canons relative to Ecclesiastical Polity, the fourth is very important. It states, that “ it is most proper that a Bishop should be constituted by all the Bishops of the province ; but if “ this be difficult, on account of some urgent necessity or the length of the way, that at all events “ three Bishops should meet together at the same “ place ; those who are absent also giving their “ suffrages, and their consent in writing, and then “ the ordination be performed. The confirmation “ of all things done in the province must, however, “ be reserved to the Metropolitan.”

We here learn, that every province had within itself a number of Bishops, who conducted the ecclesiastical government under the sanction of a Metropolitan. We must not, however, suppose, with some writers, that, by this Canon, any suffrage with regard to the appointment of Bishops was

taken from the people⁶². During the third, fourth, and part of the fifth century, the ordination of a Bishop appears to have been subject to the consent and approbation of the following parties: 1. The Clergy of the city to which the Bishop was to be appointed. 2. The laity in general, whose testimony and suffrage, although not absolutely necessary, was always earnestly desired. 3. The synod of Provincial Bishops, whose presence, or consent in writing, was required. 4. And especially, the Metropolitan, whose approbation or veto annulled or ratified the choice of the three other parties⁶³.

(⁶²) This opinion is maintained by Balsamon, Zonaras, Aristenus, Matthæus Blastares, Schelstrate, and others; but it is ably, and I think unanswerably, confuted by Spalatensis, Bp. Pearson, Cabassutius, Valesius, Petavius, De Marca, and many more. See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book IV. ch. 2. and *The Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, c. 4. p. 138 &c. c. 6. p. 260 &c.

(⁶³) "If these things," observes Bishop Stillingfleet, "were better understood, it would allay some men's heats about these matters: for granting that in the time of the Council of Nice the people had the liberty of proposing names, or objecting against the persons to be chosen, and although their consent were generally desired, yet all this doth not put the right of election in them; for all that they could do, signified nothing without the consent of the Bishops and Metropolitan; and none are properly said to choose but those upon whose judgment the determination depends: the rest do but propose and offer persons to be chosen."—*Origines Britannicæ*, ch. iii. p. 97.

The nature and extent of the popular suffrage in the appointment of Bishops seem to have varied much in different times and countries. It was generally kept within certain bounds, being only exercised in favour of those ecclesiastics who were blameless in point of morals and orthodox in doctrine. Notwithstanding these and other restrictions, tumult and sedition frequently arising from the part taken by the people in the appointment both of Bishops and Presbyters, the suffrage was afterwards confined to the *optimates*, and at length almost wholly withdrawn from the laity⁶⁴. After the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the Gothic Kings of France and Spain obtained a share, which at length became the lion's, in the appointment of Bishops. The royal nomination assumed the right

(⁶⁴) “ By two of the Novels of Justinian (Novel. 123. c. 1. “ Novel. 137. c. 2.) it is expressly provided, that when a Bishop is “ to be ordained for any city, the Clergy and chief men of the city “ shall meet and nominate three persons ; drawing up an instru- “ ment, and inserting therein, upon their oath, that they choose “ them neither for any gift, nor promise, nor friendship, nor any “ other cause, but because they know them to be of the true “ Catholic faith, and of honest life and good learning, &c. That “ out of these three, one that is best qualified may be chosen by “ the discretion and judgment of the ordainer.” — BINGHAM’S *Antiquities*, &c. Book IV. chap. 2. sect. 18.

of a prerogative, and usually prevailed over the desires and influence of all other parties⁶⁵.

By the fifth Canon, it was provided that no person excommunicated by one Bishop should be received into communion by another, according to the Council of Arles; but as no provision had before been made for the case of those who might have been unjustly excommunicated, and who were desirous of appealing, it was now decreed that Provincial Synods should be held in the Lent and Autumn of every year⁶⁶, at which times all such causes were to be heard; and those persons who had before been excommunicated were still to be held so, unless their sentence was reversed by the Provincial Synod.

It is manifest, from this Canon, that Provincial Synods were considered as the highest authority; and that the idea of a Vicar of Christ, in the person

(⁶⁵) See De Marca de Concord. lib. viii. c. 9 & 10.

(⁶⁶) This was confirmed by many other Canons:—Concil. Antioch. can. xx. Bevereg. Pandect. Canon. tom. i. p. 449. Chalced. Can. xix. Bevereg. ib. p. 137. Regiens. can. viii. Labbei, ib. tom. iii. col. 1288. Araus. can. xxix. Labbei, ibid. tom. iii. col. 1451. Agath. can. lxxi. Labbei, ib. tom. iv. col. 1394. Emerit. can. vii. Labbei, ib. tom. vi. col. 501. Hincmar. ep. xlvii. c. 20. in Oper. tom. ii. p. 777.

of a Bishop of Rome, who was to be the supreme judge of all ecclesiastical causes, had never entered the minds of any of the Fathers. In great questions relative to doctrine, and upon any other emergency, a General Council might be convened, under the summons of an Emperor, or the concurrence of Christian Princes ; but in the ordinary course of proceeding, where no ancient privileges were invaded, a Provincial Synod was decreed, by the Nicene Canons, to be the last court of appeal. All extrinsic jurisdiction was thus excluded ; and the Churches of Britain, evidently possessing ample power to decide all causes which originated within their own provinces, would have regarded the interference of any foreign Bishop as an act of downright usurpation. And as the Nicene Fathers fixed the general right of appeals by the fifth Canon, so, by that which follows, they settled the particular bounds of jurisdiction appertaining to the greater bishoprics. Although the title of *Patriarch*⁶⁷ was

(⁶⁷) The first mention of Patriarchs occurs in Socrates (Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 8.) who wrote in the year 440. In the Council of Chalcedon, eleven years afterwards, mention is made of Patriarchs in general, and particularly of Leo, Patriarch of Great Rome. Con. Calched. Act. ii. Labbei Sacr. Concil. tom. iv. col. 338. Act. iii. tom. iv. col. 395.

not at this time known in the Christian Church, the power implied by that term was, I think, then possessed by the Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome. The spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Alexandria extended over six large provinces ; and although it is much disputed whether there were Metropolitans under him in these provinces, it is universally admitted that he exercised authority over all. His power, *ecclesiastically* speaking, corresponded to that possessed by the *Præfectus Augustalis*, or Viceroy, in the Civil government⁶⁸.

The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome was also at this time superior to, and much more extensive than that of a Metropolitan. It greatly exceeded that of any other Western Bishop. It was however defined, and does not appear to have extended beyond the suburbicary Churches⁶⁹. Within these

(⁶⁸) Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, chap. iii. p. 103.

(⁶⁹) Gothofred, Dr. Cave, and others, are of opinion that the suburbicary regions were commensurate with the district of the *Præfectus Urbis*, or Provost of Rome, which comprised a circuit of about 100 miles round the great city. Brerewood, Sirmond, and Du Pin extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome to all those ten provinces under the civil inspection of the *Vicarius Urbis*; viz. 1. Campania ; 2. Tuscia, and Umbria ; 3. Picenum suburbicarium ; 4. Valeria ; 5. Samnium ; 6. Apulia, and Calabria ; 7. Lucania, and Brutii ; 8. Sicilia ; 9. Sardinia : 10. Corsica.

provinces he exercised a Patriarchal power. That power, according to Morinus, a warm advocate of the Papal claims⁷⁰, consisted in the four following particulars :—

1. In the consecration of Metropolitans, and the confirmation of other Bishops.
2. In calling Councils out of the several provinces under his jurisdiction.
3. In receiving appeals from Provincial Synods.
4. In the delegation of persons to act, under his authority, in the several provinces.

Admitting this definition to be correct, I maintain that in no one point specified did the Bishop of Rome exercise a Patriarchal jurisdiction over Britain. He possessed no authority to consecrate the Metropolitans or Bishops of this country : for I have shewn that the case of Eleutherius⁷¹ was perfectly incidental, and cannot be established as a precedent. He never called the British Bishops to his Councils at Rome ; nor did he receive appeals from their Provincial Synods. No persons were delegated to act under his authority in Britain.

(⁷⁰) Morin. Exercit. Eccles. lib. i. c. 29.

(⁷¹) See Chap. III. of this Work.

Such appears to have been the independent state of the British Church when the Nicene Fathers decreed their sixth and most celebrated Canon. That Canon opens with these words: *Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω*. “Let the ancient customs be maintained, which are in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, according to which the Bishop of Alexandria has authority over all those places: for this is also customary to the Bishop of Rome. Likewise in Antioch, and in other provinces, let their own privileges be preserved to the Churches.”

Here, then, is a Canon to which the Bishops of Rome were wont, in after-ages, to appeal, in vindication of their claims; but which we now confidently bring forward in proof of the independency of the British Churches. As before the Council of Nice no one instance can be proved in which the Bishops of Rome exercised a Patriarchal jurisdiction over Britain; the pretensions to supremacy over us, which they afterwards made, were clearly infringements of those Canons which were usually regarded as the *Magna Charta of Churches*⁷².

(⁷²) Bishop Stillingfleet has written very fully upon this subject: and although somewhat tedious, his arguments are well worthy of consideration.—*Origin. Britann.* c. 3.

As this was the twentieth year since the accession of Constantine to the empire, he was desirous of celebrating it with great magnificence; and he took the opportunity, whilst the Bishops were assembled at Nice, to testify his regard for them, by inviting the whole body to a splendid entertainment. When the synod was dissolved, he parted with its members on terms of the greatest kindness. Indeed the behaviour of Constantine throughout these important transactions appears in a very amiable light. He seems to have taken the greatest pains to reconcile jarring opinions, and to endear the members of the assembly to one another. Nor were his cares confined to the ecclesiastics present at Nice. Eusebius and Theodoret have preserved Letters from Constantine relative to the subjects decreed by the Council, addressed to the Bishops who were not able to attend. The substance of these Letters is indeed meagre, being chiefly confined to the duty and necessity of observing the Festival of Easter at the same time throughout the Christian world. One passage, however, is remarkable. Speaking of the harmony of faith which prevailed in Britain, Greece, Italy, Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Asia, he says that he mentions those countries, not only on account of the greater number of Churches established in them,

but to point out the propriety of agreement among all Christians on practical subjects, and that none of them should have any thing to do with the customs observed by perjured Jews⁷³.

About three months after the dissolution of the synod, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice, two of the warmest supporters of Arius, were banished, by the Emperor's command ; Arius himself having been previously exiled to Illyria.

Constantine's attachment to the Catholic Faith, as established by the Nicene Fathers, does not appear to have continued untainted. The arts of Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, and of some other temporising Christians, induced the Emperor to regard the Arian doctrines with far less dislike than that with which he had formerly viewed them. Arius was recalled from banishment, as were Eusebius and Theognis ; and Athanasius, the

(⁷³) De Vitâ Constant. lib. iii. c. 18. It cannot be denied, as I have elsewhere stated, that the British Church, from some cause or other, did not adhere to the decision of the Nicæan Council in the point relating to the time of keeping Easter. Bede mentions repeated instances in which the British Bishops, so late as the middle of the seventh century, stubbornly persisted in observing the festival at the wrong time.

uncompromising defender of the orthodox faith, and one of the greatest men that any age has produced, became the object of violent persecution. Nothing, however, could shake the firmness of Athanasius. Like the Apostles themselves, he proved himself a Minister of God, “in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report⁷⁴.” After being five times driven from his bishopric, an exile into distant lands, this dauntless champion of the faith had the happiness to behold the good cause again triumphant: he died at Alexandria, full of years, and enjoying the love and admiration of his flock, in the year 373.

While Constantine entertained unworthy notions of Athanasius, his adversary Arius, who had been summoned to Constantinople to hold a conference with the Emperor, was seized with a sudden and violent disorder in the intestines, and died in great agony⁷⁵. What effect this event produced on

(⁷⁴) 2 Cor. vi. 4, 5, 8.

(⁷⁵) There is a shameful Note in Maclaine’s Translation of Mosheim, in which it is suggested that Arius was poisoned by his adversaries.

Constantine does not appear. His own life was now fast drawing to a close. With a very dangerous infatuation, resulting from superstition, and from the fatal habit of putting off the great work of repentance and thorough amendment of life, he had delayed to receive baptism until he felt himself to be dying⁷⁶. The Bishops of the neighbourhood were then assembled in Nicomedia for the purpose of administering this Sacrament to the Emperor; who expired a short time after he had received it, in the 65th year of his age.

It is not easy to give a just summary of Constantine's character: perhaps that of Eutropius is not, in many respects, wide of the truth:—"Vir primo
"imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo

adversaries. No one authority is brought to support this opinion; and the only reason stated is, that fanatical zeal has in all ages produced similar acts of atrocity. *Ecclesiastical History*, Cent. iv. Part 2. chap. 5. note *y*. Milner, on the other hand, supposes that the death of Arius was caused by the immediate interposition of God for the comfort of the Church: *History of the Church of Christ*, Cent. iv. chap. 3. Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book XVI. chap. 3. sect. 17. Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century*, chap. iii. sect. 2. pp. 288--291.

(⁷⁶) He had always expressed a wish to be baptized, after the example of our Lord, in the River Jordan, but never had an opportunity of being so.

“ mediis comparandus. Innumeræ in eo animi
“ corporisque virtutes claruerunt. Militaris gloriæ
“ appetentissimus, fortuna in bellis prospera fuit,
“ verùm ita, ut non superaret industriam. Nam
“ etiam Gothos, post civile bellum, variè profligavit,
“ pace ad postremum data; ingentemque apud
“ barbaras gentes memoriæ gratiam collocavit.
“ Civilibus artibus et studiis liberalibus deditus;
“ affectator justî amoris, quem omni sibi et liberali-
“ tate et docilitate quæsivit: sicut in nonnullos
“ amicos dubius, ita in reliquos egregius; nihil
“ occasionum prætermittens, quo opulentiores eos
“ clarioresque præstaret⁷⁷.

(⁷⁷) Eutrop. lib. x. c. 7.

“ He was a man to be compared to the best of Princes in the
“ beginning of his reign, but to indifferent ones in the latter end
“ of it. Innumerable excellencies of mind and body shone out in
“ him: he was most greedy of military glory, and had good for-
“ tune in his wars, but so that it did not exceed his activity: for
“ after the civil war, he overthrew the Goths two several times,
“ granting them a peace at last, and fixed in the barbarous
“ nations a strong remembrance of his kindness. He was given to
“ the arts of peace and the liberal studies; an affecter of a just
“ love, which he did indeed procure to himself both by his bounty
“ and gentleness: as he was somewhat unaccountable in his car-
“ riage to some of his friends, so was he exceedingly good towards
“ the rest, letting slip no opportunities whereby he might render
“ them more rich and famous.”—*Old Translation*.

His love for the Christian Religion appears to have been sincere, although often mistaken. His zeal for its advancement was constantly manifested by the number of churches he built, and by the munificent sums he applied for the due maintenance of the Clergy. He was devout in his own practice, and composed a prayer for the use of his soldiers. The fatal stain upon his glory is the execution of his eldest son, Crispus ;—that spot can never be effaced ! After admiring the many good and splendid actions of Constantine, we are led to deplore the weakness and depravity of human nature, which could urge so great a man to break a most dear and sacred tie, and become the destroyer of his son. That dreadful transaction is involved in much doubt and perplexity. It is generally believed that the Empress Fausta entertained for her son-in-law Crispus a guilty passion, which, not being returned, was changed into deadly hatred ;—that she then filled the mind of her husband with the worst suspicions of his son, who became the victim of her malice. After the death of Crispus, Constantine appears to have felt the agonies of remorse bordering upon distraction, and to have vainly sought comfort and absolution from the Ministers of Pagan Superstition as well as from those of the True Religion.

APPENDIX

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX, N^o I.

(See p. 271.)



TRACTORIA QUID.

BARON. Tom. III. p. 576. A. D. 314. §. 47, 48.



FUISSE Tractorias, alibi diximus, diplomata, quæ dabantur missis, vel evocatis a Principe, cursu publico utentibus, adscriptis etiam stativis, id est, diversoriis, et mansionibus, quibus alerentur sumptibus publicis. Quæ quidem diplomata tantæ æstimationis erant, ut absque Imperatoris assensu nequaquam a Proconsulibus dari solerent; id enim conjicere licet ex Plinii Epistolâ ad Trajanum, cùm eadem diplomata dedit uxori suæ. Quænam verò esse soleret ejusmodi diplomatum forma, Cujacius (apud Cujac. ad lib. xii. comment. tit. de Tractoriis, 51. tom. II. col. 994.) antiquorum omnium exactissimus explorator his verbis recitat.

Ille princeps omnibus agentibus in illo loco. Nos Gaium I. V. partibus illis legationis causa direximus; ideò jubemus, ut locis convenientibus eidem a vobis evectio simul et humanitas ministretur; hoc est verheddi, sive paraverheddi tot, panes tot, vini mod.

tot, cervisiæ mod. tot, lardi lib. tot, carnis tot, porci tot, porcelli tot, verveces tot, agni tot, anseres tot, phasiani tot, pulli tot, ova tot, olei libras tot, gari lib. tot, mellis tot, aceti tot, cumini tot, piperis tot, costi tot, caryophylli tot, spicæ tot, cinnamomi tot, grani masticis tot, dactylæ tot, pistaciæ tot, amygdalæ tot, ceræ lib. tot, salis tot, olerum, leguminum carra tot, faculæ tot, pabul. equorum carra tot. Hæc omnia tam eundo quam redeundo eidem ministrari in locis solitis, et impleri sine morâ, procurate.

Hæc forma Tractoriæ; quam pro numero ac munere personarum augeri ac minui rerum ibi descriptarum numero atque pondere, certum est. Videas in his Constantini humanitatem, dum ejusmodi Tractorias non Catholicis tantum, sed etiam schismaticis, illis scilicet qui ex parte Donati contra Cæcilianum conventuri erant, dari a Proconsule jussit.

APPENDIX, N^o II.

(See p. 280.)

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LABBEI SACR. CONCIL. Tom. I. Col. 1425—1429.  
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SYNODUS EPISCOPORUM, QUI IN CIVITATE ARELATENS-
SIUM, APUD MARINUM, EPISCOPUM ECCLESIAE CATHOLICÆ,
TEMPORIBUS CONSTANTINI AUGUSTI — VOLUSIANO ET
ANNIANO COSS.—CONVENERUNT.

TITULI CANONUM.

- I. Ut uno die et tempore Pascha celebretur.
- II. Ut ubi quisque ordinatur, ibi permaneat.
- III. Ut qui in pace* arma projiciunt, excommuni-
centur. * [bello.
- IV. Ut aurigæ, dum agitant, excommunicentur.
- V. Ut theatrici, quamdiu agunt, excommuni-
centur.
- VI. Ut in infirmitate conversi manûs impositionem
accipiant.
- VII. De fidelibus, qui præsides fiunt, vel rempub-
licam agere volunt.
- VIII. De baptismo eorum qui ab hæresi conver-
tuntur.

- IX. Ut qui Confessorum literas afferunt, alias accipiant.
- X. Ut is cujus uxor adulteraverit, aliam, illâ vivente, non accipiat.
- XI. De puellis quæ Gentilibus junguntur.
- XII. Ut Clerici foeneratores excommunicentur.
- XIII. De iis qui Scripturas sacras, vasa Dominica, vel nomina fratrum tradidisse dicuntur.
- XIV. Ut qui falsò accusant fratres suos, usque ad exitum excommunicentur.
- XV. Ut Diacones non offerant.
- XVI. Ut ubi quisque fuit excommunicatus, ibi communionem consequatur.
- XVII. Ut nullus Episcopus alium conculcet Episcopum.
- XVIII. De Diaconibus urbicis, ut sine Presbyterorum conscientia nihil agant.
- XIX. Ut peregrinis Episcopis locus sacrificandi detur.
- XX. Ut sine tribus Episcopis nullus Episcopus ordinetur.
- XXI. Ut Presbyteri, aut Diacones, qui ad alia loca se transferunt, deponantur.
- XXII. De apostatis, qui in infirmitate communionem petunt.

BREVIARIUM EPISTOLÆ.

DOMINO SANCTISSIMO FRATRI SYLVESTRO MARINUS, VEL
CÆTUS EPISCOPORUM QUI ADUNATI FUERUNT IN OPPIDO
ARELATENSI.

QUÆ decreverimus communi consilio, charitati tuæ
significavimus, ut omnes sciant quid in futurum
observare debeant¹.

CANONES.

I.

Primo loco, de observatione Paschæ Dominici, ut
uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis
observetur, et juxta consuetudinem literas ad omnes
tu dirigas.

II.

De his qui in quibuscumque locis ordinati fuerint
Ministri, in ipsis locis perseverent.

(¹) Bishop Stillingfleet, after observing, that “ what Canons did
“ then pass, did no doubt as much concern the British Churches
“ to observe as any other Churches whose Bishops were there
“ present,” adds, “ Which Canons were passed by their own autho-
“ rity; for they never sent to the Bishop of Rome to confirm, but
“ to publish them; as appears by the synodical epistle which they
“ sent to him.” Their words are, “ Quæ decrevimus communi
“ concilio, charitati tuæ significamus, ut omnes sciant quid in
“ futurum observare debeant.*” Baronius† had good luck to find
out the necessity of the Pope’s confirmation here: whereas they
plainly

* Baron. A. D. 314. n. 58.

† Baron. *ibid.* n. 68.

III.

De his qui arma projiciunt in pace, placuit abstinere eos a communione.

IV.

De agitatoribus qui fideles sunt, placuit eos, quamdiu agitant, a communione separari.

V.

De theatricis, et ipsos placuit, quamdiu agunt, a communione separari.

VI.

De his qui in infirmitate credere volunt, placuit eis debere manum imponi.

VII.

De Præsidibus, qui fideles ad præsidatum prosi-

plainly tell him, "They had already decreed them by common consent, and sent them to him to divulge them;" *i.e.* as Petrus de Marca saith*, "as the Emperors sent their Edicts to their Præfecti Prætorio."

* Petrus de Marca de Concord. tom. III. lib. 7. cap. 14. n. 2. p. 347. As Stillingfleet has only partially related his words, it may not be amiss to give them more exactly, in order to understand that De Marca, himself a Roman-Catholic Archbishop, considered the Council of Arles to be the superior, and the Bishop of Rome the inferior power. De Marca says: "The Council of Arles, the first assembled out of the Western Provinces, reported the transactions of that synod to Sylvester the Pope; not, however, to request a confirmation of them, but to commit their publication to him: after the manner of the Roman Emperors, who transmitted their Rescripts to the Prætorian Prefects; or according to the method which at this day obtains with us (in France), when the King sends his Rescripts to the Courts of Parliament." — STILLINGFLEET'S *Origines Britannicæ*, chap. ii. vol. I. p. 125. edited by Rev. T. P. Pantin. Oxon. 1842.

liunt, placuit, ut cùm promoti fuerint, literas accipiant Ecclesiasticas communicatorias : ita tamen, ut in quibuscunque locis gesserint, ab Episcopo ejusdem loci cura de illis agatur; et cùm cœperint contra disciplinam agere, tum demum a communione excludantur. Similiter et de his qui rempublicam agere volunt.

VIII.

De Afris, quòd propriâ lege suâ utuntur ut rebaptizent, placuit ut si ad ecclesiam aliquis de hæresi venerit, interrogent eum symbolum; et si perviderint eum in Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto esse baptizatum, manus ei tantùm imponatur, ut accipiat Spiritum Sanctum. Quòd si interrogatus non responderit hanc Trinitatem, baptizetur.

IX.

De his qui Confessorum literas afferunt, placuit ut sublati eis literis accipiant communicatorias.

X.

De his qui conjuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt, et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles, et prohibentur nubere, placuit ut inquantùm possit consilium eis detur, ne, viventibus uxoribus suis, licet adulteris, alias accipiant.

XI.

De puellis fidelibus quæ gentilibus junguntur, placuit ut aliquanto tempore a communione separantur.

XII.

De Ministris qui fœnerant, placuit eos juxta formam divinitùs datam a communione abstineri.

XIII.

De his qui scripturas sanctas tradidisse dicuntur, vel vasa dominica, vel nomina fratrum suorum, placuit nobis, ut quicumque eorum ex actis publicis fuerit detectus, non verbis nudis, ab ordine Cleri amoveatur. Nam si iidem aliquos ordinasse fuerint deprehensi, et de his quos ordinaverint ratio subsistit, non illis obsit ordinatio. Et quoniam multi sunt qui contra ecclesiasticam regulam pugnare videntur, et per testes redemptos putant se ad accusationem admitti debere, omninò non admittantur, nisi ut supra diximus, actis publicis docuerint*.

* [omni se suspicione carere.

XIV.

De his qui falsò accusant fratres suos, placuit eos usque ad exitum non communicare.

XV.

De Diaconibus quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minimè fieri debere.

XVI.

De his qui pro delicto suo a communione separantur, placuit ut in quibuscumque locis fuerint exclusi, eodem loco communionem consequantur.

XVII.

Ut nullus Episcopus alium Episcopum inculcet†.

† [conculcet.

XVIII.

De Diaconibus urbicis, ut non sibi tantùm præsumant, sed honorem Presbyteris reservent, ut sine conscientiâ ipsorum nihil tale faciant.

XIX.

De Episcopis peregrinis qui in urbem solent venire, placuit eis locum dari ut offerant.

XX.

De his qui usurpant sibi quod soli debeant Episcopos ordinare, placuit ut nullus hoc sibi præsumat, nisi assumptis secum aliis septem Episcopis. Si tamen non potuerit septem, infra tres non audeat ordinare.

XXI.

De Presbyteris, aut Diaconibus, qui solent dimittere loca sua in quibus ordinati sunt, et ad alia loca se transferunt, placuit ut eis locis ministrent, quibus præfixi sunt. Quòd si relictis locis suis ad alium se locum transferre voluerint, deponantur.

XXII.

De his qui apostatant, et nunquam se ad Ecclesiam repræsentant, ne quidem pœnitentiam agere quærunt, et postea infirmitate arrepti petunt communionem; placuit eis non dandam communionem nisi revaluerint, et egerint dignos fructus pœnitentiæ.

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RICHARD WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.

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